THE ARYAN PATH

Point out the "Way"—however dimly, and lost among the host—as does the evening star to those who tread their path in darkness.

—*The Voice of the Silence*

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THE POWER WHICH UNITES

Persian or Turk or Arab are not known,
Or Hinḍū, Christian, Muslim, to the soul;
Wisdom and virtuous deed make the soul's life,
Not racial names and not communal strife.

The power which unites man to man is Religion. By religion we do not mean creedalism, which is only a maker of cliques similar to the parties made by political views, or to clubs and smart sets which come into existence in society. The power of Religion resides in the heart of man and is the chief expression of the Soul itself. False interpretations of Religion have played havoc in the history of human thought and have separated man from man instead of uniting men in a single whole. Not even blood plays so vital a part in unfolding the true spirit of the family as the understanding of true religious principles plays; these weaken our *ahankaric* selves, purify and elevate our affections, rationalise our sympathies and create in us the power to sacrifice. If they play a vital part in the well-being of a small family, their influence in transforming the human race into a harmonious unit after the family pattern is vast. "Religion, *per se*," wrote H. P. Blavatsky, "in its widest meaning is that which binds not only all MEN, but also all BEINGS and all *things* in the entire Universe into one grand whole."

The world of chaos in which we now live—swayed by the emotion of fear of the enemy (who is but a collectivity of human beings like ourselves), both we and they uncertain of the morrow—sorely and urgently needs the healing balm of true Religion. For many centuries now, Religion has been relegated to the church and the temple and its activities have been confined to a few occasional affairs of life; its chief concern has been with the performance of ceremonies connected with the birth, the marriage and the death of men and women.

Instead of Knowledge of the Way of the Inner Life, Religion has become differing methods of outer and superficial rites and ceremonies. Even its chief instrument—prayer—has become corrupted; instead of inner communion with the Divine Presence in the shrine of the Heart, it has become an act of petition for pity, for forgiveness of self-indulgence, and of appeal for favours.

Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches in Christendom have fought in the name of Jesus Christ, as here in India, even today, in the name of religion men and women are declared untouchables by orthodox Hindus, and in the name of Vishnu and Allah men separate themselves into clans and carry on feuds, to the degradation of all. Sincere efforts to bring the followers of warring creeds into a single group of men and women inspired by Truths which are universal and common to all faiths have been made from time to time, in the world at large, and in India in particular. In our times the Theosophical Movement started in this country by H. P. Blavatsky, who was aided by Col. H. S. Olcott, was the first to inaugurate the revival of Religion, as distinct from religions. The only method by which such a reform could be introduced was the spread of Knowledge which showed that all religions have but one source, that all are true at the bottom, and all false on their surface.

In the present National Movement in India, Babu Saheb Dr. Bhagavan Das has been labouring assiduously to strengthen the cause of religious fraternisation as a sure way to create real unity among the followers of Krishna and Allah, Ram and Rahim. In 1939 he published an important volume, *The Essential Unity of All Religions*. He derives his inspiration from Theosophy, and he acknowledges his debt to *Isis Unveiled* and to *The Secret Doctrine*. It is opportune today to draw pertinent attention to his book (available from the Kashi Vidya-Pitha of Benares for Rs. 2/8 post free), for our esteemed brother is trying to do in the twentieth century just what the great Mogul Emperor Akbar attempted in the sixteenth.

This month, on the 14th, Akbar's admirers will celebrate the Fourth Centenary of his birth. Among those admirers we count ourselves, and so we have arranged for Shri Bhabani Bhattacharya to prepare for us the special article with which this number opens. Let us hope that the efforts of Dr. Bhagavan Das in the religious and socio-political spheres will meet with a better fate than attended those of Akbar, whose inauguration of *Din Ilahi* was a long step in the right direction.

Akbar's example has a message for our world torn by ideologies, and such works as those of Dr. Bhagavan Das need to be popularised for their healing influence. For the Brotherhood of Man to be acted up to, it must be seen as true; that is the superior knowledge which unfolds this perception and energises to right application. Marcus Aurelius,

the "Emperor Janaka" of ancient Rome, wrote thus :—

If our intellectual part is common, the reason also, in respect of which we are rational beings, is common : if this is so, common also is the reason which commands us what to do, and what not to do ; if this is so, there is a common law also ; if this is so, we are fellow-citizens ; if this is so, we are members of some political community ; if this is so, the world is in a manner a state. For of what other common political community will any one say that the whole human race are members ?...

We are made for co-operation, like feet, like hands, like eyelids, like the rows of the upper and lower teeth. To act against one another, then, is contrary to nature ; and it is acting against one another to be vexed and to turn away.

No amount of political discussion, no amount of reading political economy, will inspire men and women to apply the truth of these words to their personal lives or to their national problems. Even the appeal of patriotism fails, as in this country of India, and in international affairs patriotism often acts as a deterrent to the realisation of world-unity. An insight deeper than that of the mind is necessary, and a clear-sightedness which even the love of one's country fails to supply. Such an insight is born of the understanding and the application of the principles of Religion, one and universal, for which Emperors like Akbar and Antoninus laboured. To bring to men and women that insight, compilations like the one of Dr. Bhagavan Das are priceless, and men younger in years than our venerable friend should make adequate use of this and like volumes, not merely to preach and to promulgate their contents, but to practise in life the principles they point to and uphold. Every street of every city in India has a message to receive from the truth that each man is a member of but one family—the human race.

14th August, 1942.

Since the above was written has come from Mr. John Middleton Murry, who has co-operated with THE ARYAN PATH from its very inception, an article dealing with the subject we are considering. We publish it with great pleasure, drawing our readers' pertinent attention to its closing words, which are about —Gandhiji.

20th August, 1942.

AN EMPEROR WHO DREAMED OF TRUTH

The image of Akbar's mind, vivid in his deeds and in their record in contemporary chronicles, might well be viewed as a study in rhythmic values. That mind was yoked to conflicting devotions. It should have been puzzled, self-doubting, torn within. Yet it was, in all probability, assured, brilliant at every turn, without strain or tension. It passed from one devotion to another, a contrary one, with athletic ease. The inner rhythm altered, but was never lost. Akbar danced away through a many-sided, picturesque life, intricate in design, enormous in range, and his feet never faltered. For within him, he had resolved, with an extraordinary adaptability that nearly amounted to creative genius, the inherent conflicts of two opposed worlds striving to reach altogether different ends.

The contradistinctive aspects of this strange, colourful personality found form in the man of action, explosive, with exhaustless energy, sparing neither himself nor his associates, and the man of contemplation, composed, intellect-ridden, bearing with human frailties though impatient of time-honoured falsehoods, straining towards the Truth of truths.

The man of action was the offspring of fierce ancestors, part Turk, part Mongol, who had built pyramids of human heads as they had trundled through Asia, lashed by their own restless, barbaric spirit. Filtering through the sands of time and heredity, the old Tartar temperament in its descent upon Akbar had mellowed greatly, without ever losing its incendiary core. Akbar, however, retained the physical gifts of his forbears. Like them he was a great horseman, a splendid hunter and a born warrior.

The battle field of Panipat had proffered him, when a stripling, a crown of golden thorns. As the years passed the thorns were worn off with ruthless attack. The young Emperor pushed the frontiers of his Indian kingdom beyond the dreams of Babar. He trimmed down the flaming glory of Rajasthan, though in this, the toughest of all his ventures, success was due as much to tact, the policy of divide-and-conquer, as to military genius. He countered the ever-present centrifugal forces in his mammoth empire, giving it unity, peace and the smooth-moving wheels of a stable government. He was the first of the Great Moguls. (I would not call his two predecessors "Great.") He started a tradition. He founded a dynasty unparallelled in all history for power and wealth and splendour, for brilliance and sophistication.

He was also the greatest of the Great Moguls. While the man of action was in harmony with the spirit of his age, the man of contemplation was far in advance of

those twisted times, and resolved to straighten them, wielding stark reason to settle problems and cut the roots of established prejudice. Communal inequality was then tearing apart the masses of India from the ruling class. But the religious discrimination sponsored by the State was the bitter fruit not of ideology alone. Islam was being distorted and misused as a convenient weapon of economic exploitation. That was the meaning of *jaziya*, the heavy poll-tax levied on Hindus, a penalty for adherence to their faith. Akbar, loving justice, removed this imposition. He went further. He shocked the privileged class by throwing open the highest posts in the Empire to merit, regardless of race and creed. So it happened that Hindus came to fill peak posts in the civil administration and military High Command. Hindu strategy won him his battles. Hindu artists under royal patronage made a major contribution to the growth of the art which we call today the Mogul School of painting.

But the Hindus too knew the heat of Akbar's reforming zeal from the promulgation of the anti-*suttee* edict, which prohibited the rite, though permitting it in exceptional circumstances, under official eye.

Mankind since Akbar's time has walked far afield across the rough centuries, picking up progressive social ideas in its stride, so that religious toleration and racial equality do not strike us as revolutionary precepts. (Yet, in practice, has not the face of privilege lingered beneath a pleasing camouflage in our self-deceiving Democracies?) But Akbar should be seen against the setting of his own century. Then alone will his greatness be illuminated.

The later Middle Ages had then oldened and shrivelled. A new age was in its travail. Martin Luther, a symbol of this age, had stirred up revolt against Rome. In the year of Akbar's accession (1556) Mary, Catholic Queen of England and ruthless enemy of Protestantism, was acting on the conviction that to burn down heresy you must burn the heretics. So Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, had to yield his living body to the flames. The year before, Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, had cried as the fire sprang up at his feet: "We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Nearly three hundred Protestants were burnt at the stake in three years.

All through the sixties of the century, France was torn by religious strife which swelled swiftly into civil wars. Pope Pius V issued a bull forbidding Huguenots to worship on pain of death, and Catherine de Medici gave it violent expression. The grim outcome was the hideous crime of St. Bartholomew's Day, when the streets of Paris ran with the blood of the Huguenots, taken unawares and massacred before dawn. Other French towns copied this ghastly example. Estimates of the slaughter vary from ten to fifty thousand and more.

The Spanish Empire and the Netherlands trembled under the terror of the Inquisition which sent heretics to death by the hundreds, in the solemn name of religion and of God.

Such was Europe in Akbar's time. A perverted view of their Faith made barbarians of them all! The principle of toleration and universal brotherhood, however, was inherent in ancient Indian culture. Even the thrusts of aggressive Brahmanism against the Buddhist *samgha* were unpolluted by mass persecution. They were soul-thrusts, not sword-thrusts. It was as though Akbar, the illiterate son of a scholarly father, breathing with his body and spirit the immortal heritage of the land of his adoption, yielded to its age-old enchantment!

Enchantment, indeed. How else explain the spiritual urge, so unexpected in a Mogul Emperor, that led him to frequent and intimate communion with men of all creeds, and made him an anxious seeker after Truth?

The beginnings of this vital urge may be traced back to Akbar's early youth. He then rode away into a desert, Abu'l Fazl tells us in *Akbar-nama,* a lone melancholy horseman tired of worldly affairs, and in the billowing ocean of greyness, unpursued by space and time, the young Emperor communed with himself. A strange ecstasy possessed him. Later, and all through his life, such mystic experiences—yielding some intuitive realization of Truth—happened off-and-on. Once they inspired him with such keen sympathy for all animal life that he gave up a great hunt which had been arranged. The abandonment of meat foods, too, reflects the intensity of this dreamlike mood, when, in the words of Abu'l Fazl, "The spiritual world seized his holy form and gave it a new beauty....What the Sufi seers had searched for in vain, was revealed to him."

The outward shell of this religious preoccupation was the House of Worship where leading theologians of many Faiths—Brahmins, Mullahs, Parsees, Jains, Jesuits—were summoned to debate religious tenets in the presence of the Emperor. This was Akbar's training-ground. He held personal discussions, too, with learned men of all sects, and dipped into their scriptures. Illiterate, but gifted with a prodigious memory, he learnt wisdom in the manner of the men of early Vedic times—through the ear.

Hinduism moved him deeply. The outward emblems of this interest were the *tilak* marked on his wide forehead, the *rakhi* string tied by Brahmans to his wrist, the *hōm* fire burning in his palace, and his daily worship of the sun-god with the prescribed *mantras.* The teachings of the Bible, explained to him by the famous Jesuit Father Aquaviva, moved him no less profoundly, and it seemed that he would turn Christian. But then Zoroastrianism, from the lips of Dastur Meherjee Rana, struck the receptive mind

with almost equal force, so that the palace now housed the sacred fire. Jainism, preached by Hiravijaya, also drew homage from the Emperor, who accordingly ordered that no animals were to be killed on certain days. The revealing light of Sufi doctrines made a deep impression on the mystic side of his temperament.

So the Shahin-Shah, having sated his spirit of inquiry at the fount of manifold knowledge, came to this conclusion: Every religion had elements of beauty and vitality and truth. All these truths could be assembled and fused together till they grew into one supreme central Truth. This was the consummation for which a breathless world, torn by rival factions, waited and prayed. He, Akbar, would fulfil the dream of mankind and evolve a world religion.

No other emperor in history ever set before him so ambitious a vision. The vision took palpable shape as *Din Ilahi*, the Universal Faith. Its founder as well as its high-priest, Akbar personally conducted the ceremony of initiation and revealed to the novice the secret path of everlasting life.

The new super-religion, proclaimed from the Throne with a fanfare of trumpets, stirred no response! It was still-born. The first and last converts were the royal Guru's associates and admirers. That was all.

The causes of this stupendous failure are clear enough. A gay-living royal personage makes a poor figure in a prophet's borrowed mantle. Gautama Buddha could hardly, I believe, have fired the masses with his sermons if he had preached them from the Kapilavastu Palace: the ascetic's dusty garb was a banner that hurried the millions to the Noble Eightfold Path. All through the ages the spirit of India has idealized renunciation. The *sanyasi* has been at the very centre of mass appeal.

Further, *Din Ilahi* was a synthetic product. It was no faith but a formula. It was evolved in the head, not in the heart. Posturing as a creed, it could not evoke credence. The luminaries who clustered about the Emperor's person adopted it by way of a formality, as they adopted the dress and the artificial technique of court manners, perhaps with a cynical inward smile, regardless of the spiritual implications.

It is a chastening reflection that a poor Moslem weaver, Kabir, himself a disciple of the Hindu teacher Ramanand, was a better welder of Hindu-Moslem devotions, and that his figure looms larger in India's religious annals than the majestic personality of the great imperial evangelist. Kabir, a self-eliminating ascetic, added singleness of purpose to his vision. Akbar, however, drank deep from all the bowls of life. The roots of his nature needed exuberance. One sees him striding out of the House of Worship to the vast sports arena where he would subdue wild-tempered elephants—over these beasts he wielded a strange power! In the dark of night he would shake himself out of the depths of medita-

tion, don a disguise and walk the streets of Delhi, mingling with the common people to feel their thoughts and sentiments, the texture of their daily lives. A thousand interests possessed him. How then, could he sink himself in *sadhana*, the lone struggle for self-realization ?

Din Ilahi was, therefore, Akbar's experiment, not his achievement. Was he sincere in its formulation ? Was it only a political manœuvre, designed to unite the empire, solve its racial and communal problems and make the Shahin-Shah, with his professed divine attributes, a luminous being next only to God ? It is true that Akbar had a complex personality, a nature of great subtlety as well as depth, so that, with all the copious life-material left by contemporary chroniclers, we have only a twilight knowledge of his true self. However, when one recalls the radiant quality of his spiritual urge, his hunger for ultimate knowledge and his idealism carried boldly into affairs of State, one feels that Akbar, the seeker after Truth, was no glorified impostor, but a sincere inquirer; and yet, a spirit forlorn, dazed and defeated by his dreams, beating ineffectual wings in a void.

BHABANI BHATTACHARYA

RELIGION: UNIVERSAL AND PARTICULAR

At the precise moment that I began to grope in my mind for a fitting subject for the article which the Editor of THE ARYAN PATH had invited me to write, I received a letter from a hitherto unknown friend taking me to task for " assuming that Christianity is so vastly superior to all other religions. " For the instant, I was staggered by the charge: for it would never have occurred to me to use the phrase that Christianity is " vastly superior " to other high religions; and I do not believe that I am in the habit of tacitly assuming what I do not dare to say. But my correspondent produces evidence for his charge against me. He quotes from a statement written by me to explain the religious philosophy of *The Adelphi* Magazine, of which I am the Editor. The statement says, among other things :—

The Adelphi stands for Christian Socialism and Christian Pacifism. It believes that reverence for the individual is a Christian inheritance which cannot be preserved apart from the Christian faith. It believes that Democracy and Socialism, apart from the spirit of Christ, become evil.

On this my correspondent comments :—

I cannot understand why you should take it for granted that anything, such as Socialism, that lacks the spirit of Christ is, as you say, bad. You do not appear to be in the least concerned about Socialism being inspired by the spirit of, say, Buddha,—so how can you reasonably expect Buddhists to be more interested in Christ than you are in Buddha ? Do you agree that the spirit of, say, Buddha is as essential to Socialism as is the spirit of Christ ? If

so, why not say so ? Why mention only Christ ?

To that I reply : I do not profess to be a profound student of Buddhism ; indeed, the only Buddhist scripture I know well is *Some Sayings of Buddha according to the Pali Canon.* But that, at one time in my life, I studied deeply. And on the strength of that study I would not hesitate to say that the spirit of Buddha is as essential to Socialism, if it is not to become evil, as is the spirit of Christ. That is not to say that the two spirits are identical, in the sense of being indistinguishable from one another ; but that the ethical values which proceed from them are equally a guarantee against the mechanical tyranny into which Socialism, unspiritualised by either, must degenerate.

Nevertheless, when I am writing for an audience of Englishmen, of Anglo-Saxons, or Europeans—and that is the fullest extent of the audience I have any expectation of reaching, except on the now rare occasions when I write in these pages —I insist always on the necessity of the spirit of Christ. And this for two reasons : first, because my chief concern is to convey my meaning to my audience ; second, because I belong, by birth and education and inheritance, to the Christian tradition. My natural language in matters of high religion is the language of Christianity. I speak the Christian idiom.

I accept the limitation—if it is a limitation—gladly ; because I believe that, in order to speak plainly and persuasively, one must speak an idiom. Far greater men than I have come to this conclusion before me. The English nation has produced no more profound religious genius than William Blake. He believed and declared that "All Religions are One" ; nevertheless, as he grew older, he came to speak almost exclusively the idiom of Christianity. That did not imply, in the least, that he had surrendered his former belief in the truth of the one universal religion of which all particular religions are forms ; but that the necessity of utterance compelled him to speak the religious language to which he was born.

There is, I believe, a universal religion ; but there is no universal language of religion. And it is in accord with the nature of things that this should be so. As Goethe—who also came to speak the language of Christianity at the end of the second part of *Faust*—said, we can utter the universal only through the particular. And it seems to me that those who rebel against this limitation and try always to speak a universal language in matters of religion are always in danger of speaking no language at all. Certainly, if I were to try to do so, I should find myself speaking a kind of religious Esperanto, which (however beneficent its uses) could never serve as the medium to record experience so intimate and personal as religion.

For religion is, above all else, an

intimate and personal experience. As Max Plowman once said, "The test of religion is whether it is a man's own." Therefore it is inevitable that the language in which a man writes of authentic religion should bear the impress of the religious tradition to which he was born. His religious thought necessarily shapes itself in the idiom of the Scriptures with which he has been familiar from childhood. For a man of the West, the Bible—and above all the New Testament—is his natural religious language. His deepened religious experience seeks, and never fails to find, corroboration in its sayings. No doubt, were he as deeply versed in the religious wisdom of the East, his deepening religious experience would, just as naturally, find corroboration in the sacred books of the East; but that familiarity with the sacred wisdom of the East would be purchased only at the cost of familiarity with the sacred wisdom of the West.

No Western writer has written more profoundly than George Santayana of the metaphysical genius of India, which he regards as much greater than that of Europe. But it is Santayana who also wrote that the wise man is he who can acknowledge that "life narrows down to one mortal career." It is a homely way of saying that the youthful yearning for the universal should come to rest betimes in the acceptance of the particular, as the medium in which the universal necessarily manifests itself. But the wise man, when he accepts the particular, does not thereby deny the universal. He is aware of other particulars through which the universal is manifested; and above all he is aware of the universal itself. And this is pre-eminently true of religion. The Divine—it is acknowledged by all high religions—is incomprehensible and ineffable. It cannot be uttered, but only communed with and experienced. Therefore the idiom of any particular high religion is a means only, and not an end. The very fact that it is an idiom, an utterance, precludes its own finality. Its particularity is like a ladder which we must use to ascend, but which we must kick away from under our feet, to enter into communion with God.

We may use to illuminate the problem of particular high religions the analogy of the separate and distinct arts of poetry, painting and music. No one who is sensitive to more than one of these arts would deny that they are separate avenues to what is at its highest one identical experience: an apprehension, so "self-destroying" that it amounts to communion, of the Beauty which is Truth, the Truth which is Beauty. In this regard we may truly say that one art is as good as another; but in saying that we do not imply that one art can replace another without loss. Were there no art of painting, no art of music, the art of poetry would not be enriched by the aspiration which no longer could find expression through the other

two arts. Our avenues of communication with the Beauty which is Truth would merely be diminished, and our opportunities impoverished. The high religions of great civilisations—and I cannot believe that any civilisation can be great unless it is informed by a high religion—can be regarded, analogically, as the distinctive art-modes of the civilisations in which they appear. To say, or to suggest, that one is "vastly superior" to another would be as foolish as to say or suggest that poetry is vastly superior to music, or music to poetry. High religions are the roads by which the particular genius of each great civilisation seeks its contact with the Divine.

But in all this I have used, without definition, the phrase "high religions." It is only "high religions" which are, like the arts, equal without being interchangeable. But what do I mean by a "high religion"? Any attempt to understand the quality implied in the epithet "high" brings us nearer to that common element in great religions which underlies Blake's assertion that "All Religions are One." But it would be against the nature of things to expect a clear definition. And perhaps in such a matter one can only express a very personal conviction.

Anyhow, my personal conviction is that the common element in all high religions is that they are all religions of individual regeneration. There is another and very important element in religions in general: that they are an expression of social solidarity. But the religion of social solidarity need not be, and very often is not, a high religion. Today in the West we have modern and striking examples of these purely social religions—Communism and National Socialism; and perhaps the Shintoism of Japan has affinities with these. The distinction drawn by Japanese law between Shintoism and "religions" is illuminating. Buddhism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, and sectarian Shintoism, are recognised "religions" in Japan; but Shintoism itself is not a "religion," it is "a way of life." The "way of life" corresponds to what I have called the religion of social solidarity; the "religion" as recognised by Japanese law to the religion of individual regeneration.

The distinction is official, and therefore mechanical. But it throws light on the actual situation in the West, where Christianity remains the nominal religion, but the effective religion is the various religions of social solidarity. In Britain we still maintain that our national religion is Christianity. In Russia and Germany the pretence has ceased. And that is at least more honest. For Christianity is originally and essentially a religion of individual regeneration: a deliberate and revolutionary breaking away from the Jewish religion of national solidarity. To suborn such a religion to the purposes of the extreme nationalism of modern Europe is obviously a fantastic perversion, indeed a deliberate and explicit repudiation of

Christianity.

For the individual regeneration which is essential to Christianity has for its outcome the entire renunciation of war. Quite inevitably, because the rebirth of the individual soul, as taught by Jesus, consisted in entry into the knowledge that all men are brothers, because they are sons of God, who is the Father. This plain and incontrovertible truth was accepted and taught by the early Christian Church for the first three centuries of its existence. If a man became a Christian he renounced war. It followed as certainly as the night follows the day. But subsequently the essential Christian doctrine of the regeneration of the individual into a man of peace and love, the brother of all men, by his individual apprehension of the nature of God as the loving Father of all men, was perverted into the quite different faith that men were saved, and thus guaranteed a happy existence after death, by the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus upon the Cross. Christianity became a religion of magic, rather than a religion of spirituality. Men were regenerated not by their struggle towards the new and revolutionary understanding of the nature and love of God, which Jesus taught, but by the magical application of baptism at birth.

This degeneration of Christianity is, of course, familiar to all. Probably, all high religions whose implicit universality becomes explicit, when they are embraced by millions of men, undergo a similar degeneration. But the process in the case of Christianity has been spectacular, because it has culminated in a prolonged period of war during which the brother-nations of Christendom are engaged in devoting all the amazing technical inventions of the West to the effort to exterminate one another. It is not surprising that this final stage of the degeneration of Christianity should be marked by the deliberate repudiation of Christianity by two of the most powerful nations of Europe.

Yet another, equally spectacular sign of the end of a religious epoch, which may be characterized as the rise, decline and fall of Christianity, is the rise to power of Japan in the East. For the extremity of the perversion of Christianity was reached in the establishment of the European empires, by robbery and violence, in the East. Christianity made its effective appearance in the East, not as a religion of individual regeneration and universal brotherhood, but as an overwhelming display of material force, and the imposition of an alien rule based on superior armaments and aimed at nothing else than the exploitation of the Eastern races as slaves. Whatever be the eventual outcome of the present war, the robber imperialism of the so-called Christian West is destroyed. If Christianity is to have any standing in the East in the future, it can only be in so far as it does actually become what it has so long falsely pretended to be—a religion of individual re-

generation and universal brotherhood. That teaching is common to all high religions.

Whether Christianity is destined to become the chief of the high religions, it is mere foolishness to prophesy. But I, who profess and call myself a Christian, should be lacking in loyalty to my faith, and perhaps also in simple honesty, if I did not briefly say why I find it possible to believe that Christianity may one day be acknowledged as the universal religion of the world. The reason is quite simple. At the heart of authentic—perhaps it might be called esoteric—Christianity is the doctrine of the Cross. The doctrine of the Cross is that the way of regeneration lies through absolute annihilation: and that doctrine applies to the Christian religion itself. The terrible, the absolute failure of Christianity as an organised and institutional religion—Church-Christianity as Tolstoy called it—is that it has always evaded, and indeed striven with every weapon against, the process of self-annihilation to which it was committed by the teaching and example of its Founder. It has preached the way of the Cross and avoided it like death. Rather than suffer persecution, it has deliberately supported the inhuman extravagances of modern nationalism: all in vain. The more it has clutched at the modern State for support, the weaker it has become; the more it has favoured the insane nationalistic passions of Western men, the more Western men have come to despise it.

But there is an essential Christianity existing in scattered remnants and groups of men, which accepts its manifest destiny of annihilation; and it is precisely these Christian remnants, gathering, under persecution and in isolation, the spiritual strength for the coming struggle against the tyranny of totalitarianism, which have the deepest understanding of their religious community with the East. There are at least a few thousand Christians in Britain today who, though more passionately attached to Christianity than ever before, look upon Gandhiji almost as their spiritual leader. What they mean by the spirit of Christ—the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove—is more plainly manifest in him than in any religious leader to-day.

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

THE POET RADIU'D-DIN OF NISHAPUR

HIS LIFE AND TIMES

[We publish here the first of two articles by **Dr. Hadi Hasan** of Baroda College who, a decade since, added to his laurels as scholar and historian by his discovery of the lost *diwan* of the mediæval poet Radiu'd-Din of Nishapur, whose life and times he here reconstructs, partly on the basis of its evidence.

It was a noble culture that produced Radiu'd-Din but the times that form his setting seem as dark as our own in the cheapness in which human life is held. It was the poet's fortune not to live to chronicle the tragic downfall of his sovereign and the sack of Samarqand. The Qara-Khanid dynasty dramatically illustrates the universal cyclic rise and fall, to which cultures and dynasties alike must bow.

The historian's task ends with the conscientiously constructed outline of events; but here is grist for the imaginative playwright's and the fiction-writer's mill.—Ed.]

I.—THE QARA-KHANIDS' RISE TO POWER

THE QARA-KHANIDS

In the sixth century of the Hijra, the Muslim Kingdom of the Qara-Khanids of Samarqand and Bukhara lay between the province of Khurasan on the south, Khwarazm on the east, and the territories of the infidel Qara-Khitays on the west. These limits, however, were not constant: in 536 A. H., the Qara-Khitays overran the whole country and occupied Bukhara; by 560 A. H., approximately, the Qara-Khanid kingdom had become sufficiently strong to undertake an offensive campaign against Balkh. Externally, therefore, Qara-Khanid history is a record of the dealings of the Qara-Khans with the Qara-Khitays, the Khwarazmshahs, the Seljuqs and the Ghuzz; internally, this history is a narrative of a triangular fight for political power between the ruling class of the Qara-Khans, the military class of the Qarluq Turks, and the priestly class of the Bukhara sadrs. These sadrs were rich, influential, and hereditary priests, possessing the title of the "*House* of Burhan," holding their own courts and constituting, as it were, a Kingdom within a Kingdom.

The origin of the Qara-Khanids and the date of their conversion to Islam is uncertain: Shihabu'd-Dawlah wa Zahiru'd-D'awa Bughra Khan Harun b. Musa b. Bughra Khan 'Abdu'l-Karim Satuq entered Bukhara in triumph on Rabi' I 382 A. H.—a date which initiates the displacement of the Samanids by the Qara-Khanids in Transoxania. The Qara-Khanids were, therefore,

the successors of the Samanids; the dynasty lasted till 609 A. H. when 'Usman, the last of the Qara-Khanids, fell in the slaughter of Samarqand by Muhammad Khwarazm-shah, and it was during the rule of this 'Usman "the martyr" and his two predecessors that there flourished at Samarqand and Bukhara the poet Radiu'd-Din of Nishapur.

THE POET RADIU'D-DIN AND HIS DIWAN

Says Mirza Muhammad ibn Abdu'l-Wahhab-i-Qazwini (*Lubabu'l-Albab*, I. 347-8) :—

اشعار رضی‌الدین نیشابوری در نهایت عذوبت و سلاست است و او را باید در طبقهٔ اول از قصیده سرایان شمرد — مجمع‌الفصحا گوید [۲۳۱:۱] "دیوانش قریب به ۴۰۰۰ بیت بنظر رسیده" افسوس که در هیچ یک از فهارس کتابخانهای معروف اروپا یافت نشد، خوف آنست که از میان برود یا رفته باشد، مجمع الفصحا [۲۳۱:۱-۲۳۳] و هفت اقلیم منتخباتی از دیوان او میدهند و از آن بالصراحة معلوم میشود که از مداحان ملوک خانیهٔ سمرقند قلیج طمغاج خان ابراهیم بن الحسین و پسرش نصرة‌الدین قلیج ارسلان خان عثمان مقتول در سنهٔ ۶۰۹ بوده است و هفت اقلیم نیز تصریح باین امر میکند، مجمع‌الفصحا ارسلان خان را بارسلان بن طغرل سلجوقی اشتباه کرده

"Raḍīu'd-Dīn of Nīshāpūr, whose poems are extremely sweet and fluent, should be considered a first-grade *qaṣīḍah*-writer. *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā* says (I. 231): 'His *dīwān* comprising 4,000 verses has come to our notice.' Unfortunately I have not been able to trace this *dīwān* in any one of the great libraries of Europe: I fear it will (soon) perish, if it is not already lost. *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā* (I. 231-233) and *Haft Iqlīm* cite extracts from the *dīwān* whereby it is evident that Raḍīu'd-Dīn was a panegyrist of the [Qarā]-Khānid kings of Samarqand Qilij Tamghāj Khān Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn and his son (and successor) Nuṣratu'd-Dīn Qilij Arslān Khān 'Uṣmān killed in 609 A. H. This is corroborated by the *Haft Iqlīm* but the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā* has erroneously identified Arslān Khān with Arslān b. Ṭughril, the Seljuqid."

Hitherto this was all that was known of Radiu'd-Din of Nishapur. Sprenger (*Oudh Catalogue*, p. 538) describes a *diwan* of Radiu'd-Din containing not more than 1980 couplets (45 pages with 44 bayts to a page). This Moti Mahall *diwan* cannot be traced but in the summer of 1931 I found in Tihran two copies of the lost *diwan*: the one transcribed by the poet Sarkhush at Mashhad in 1260 A. H. Sunday 20 Safar and belonging to the poet-laureate Bahar, formerly of Mashhad now of Tihran; the other transcribed by Muhammad Zaman Katib al-Isfahani in 1001 A. H. 30 Jumada I and belonging to Professor Sa'id-i-Nafisi of the Daru'l-Funun College of Tihran. Bahar's MS. consists of 2982 verses; Nafisi's of 2637 verses whereof 36 are later interpolations in Nafisi's hand. Bahar's MS. is therefore larger: it

contains 136 quatrains and 157 odes —these latter are partly fragmentary and partly entire and, with the exception of two threnodies, are exclusively panegyric. The absence of *ghazals* from the *diwan* is noteworthy.

The only contemporary source wherein Radiu'd-Din is mentioned is the *Lubabu'l-Albab* of Muhammad 'Awfi composed in 617 A. H. After praising him for his verses (and this signifies nothing, for 'Awfi praises poets, poetasters and poet-laureates alike) 'Awfi cites two Arabic verses of Radiu'd-Din's sent to the sadr Burhanu'l-Islam Taju'd-Din, *i. e.*, Burhanu'l-Islam Taju'd-Din 'Umar b. Mas'ud b. Taju'l-Islam Ahmad b. Burhanu'd-Din 'Abdu'l-'Aziz b. Mazah who exchanged these verses with three Arabic verses of his own composition (*Lubabu'l-Albab*, I. 220).

RADIU'D-DIN'S LIFE

In view of the paucity of contemporary information the poet's biography must be prepared on the internal evidence of his own *diwan*. Radiu'd-Din uses no *takhallus* and calls himself merely Radi or Radiu'd-Din by which bare name the sadr Burhanu'l-Islam Taju'd-Din 'Umar also addresses him in the Arabic verses just mentioned. Radiu'd-Din was born at Nishapur (Ode CVIII) :—

آسمان اختر دانش رضی‌الدین ترا
هست کمتر ذره خور در پیش خورشید ضمیر
ز آب آتش زای طبعت نان راتب چون بپخت
در تنور چرخ ماند از رشک قرص خور فطیر
,,

وقت مولود تو این آمد ندا از جبرئیل
کا بشروا یا اهل نیسابور اذجاء البشیر

From his birthplace the poet migrated to Samarqand (Ode CXVIII) :—

جمال دین هدی پشت خلق روی زمین
که کار بنده ز جاهت بر آسمان میرفت
جدا فکند مرا از تو گردش گردون
مرا بگردش گردون خود این گمان میرفت
,,
نشستم من بسمرقند و از لطائف من
مناقب تو بگرد همان جهان میرفت

and became the panegyrist of the Qara-Khanids and the sadrs of Bukhara to whose courts he attached himself exclusively : of contemporary rulers and noblemen not connected with Bukhara and Samarqand there is no trace in the *diwan* ; even the cities mentioned in the *diwan* are only Samarqand, Bukhara, Nishapur, Balkh and Marv. Consequently the statement of Taqi Kashi that he visited Mecca and became a disciple of Mu'in Hamawi, an uncle of Shaikh Sa'du'd-Din Hamawi, and that he spent some time at the court of Arslan Shah b. Tughril Beg and accompanied the embassy to Baghdad, sent by Arslan Shah for obtaining the hand of the Caliph's daughter in marriage, must be rejected.

The *diwan* of Radiu'd-Din contains an ode addressed to Nusratu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Arslan Khan (Ode XLIII) :—

نصرت دنیا و دین آن شه شاهان سخن
که همه چیزش نادر سخنی شهوار است
ارسلان خان ملکی عادل آسان بذلی
که بدریا بر بذل کرمش دشوار است

Nusratu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din, that King of the Kings of speech,
all of whose possessions, including pearls of speech, are royal.
Arslan Khan, King of the world, ready with gifts, whose
cost of generosity it is difficult for the sea to meet.

This ruler is obviously identical with the last Qara-Khanid ruler called Nusratu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Qilij Arslan Khaqan 'Usman b. Ibrahim by 'Awfi who met him in Rajab 597 A. H., at Samarqand when 'Usman was fourteen or fifteen years of age and when his father was still reigning.[1] 'Usman's accession to the throne cannot be precisely dated: he was reigning in 601 A. H., when he rushed up reinforcements to the defence of Gurganj on behalf of Muhammad Khwarazmshah against Shihabu'd-Din the Ghurid.[2] Radiu'd-Din's ode on 'Usman, therefore, could not have been composed earlier than 597 and probably not earlier than 601 A. H. Of the tragic fate of 'Usman who was put to death, with the extinction of the Qara-Khanid dynasty, by Muhammad Khwarazmshah at Samarqand in 609 A. H., and of the equally tragic fate of the city of Samarqand—Radiu'd-Din's adopted home—which was given over to a three-days' sack, during which, according to Juwayni (II. 125) 10,000 men or according to Ibnu'l-Athir (XII. 177-8) 200,000 men were put to the sword, there is no mention in the *diwan* of Radiu'd-Din. In other words, Radiu'd-Din did not survive to witness the fall of the Qara-Khanids and the slaughter of Samarqand and died consequently before 609 A. H. Taqi Kashi says that Radiu'd-Din died in 598 A. H. and this guess is nearly correct.

Proceeding now to the date of the poet's birth, the year 559 A. H. is definitely mentioned as the date of the current year in one of the poet's odes (XXXVII):—

پانصد و پنجاه و نه چون گشت از هجرت تمام
نقد شد در دار دنیا خلق را دارالسلام
زین معظم کعبهٔ فضلی که اکنون بر فراخت
آفتاب نسل برهان گوهر صلب حسام

Five hundred and fifty-nine years after the Flight, were the
people of the world able to secure an abode of peace
Through the Ka'bah of learning raised by the sun of the
dynasty of Burhan, the pearl of the oyster of Husam.

The unmentioned sadr is no doubt Shamsu'd-Din (hence called آفتاب نسل برهان) Sadar-i-Jahan Muham-

[1] *Lubabu'l-Albab*, I. 44:—
السلطان الشهید نصرة الدنیا والدین قلج ارسلان خاقان عثمان بن ابراهیم سقی الله ثراه — .... در رجب سنه سبع و تسعین و خمسمائة مولف این کتاب بسمرقند رفته بود و سلطان طمغاج خان ابراهیم سقی الله ثراه در حیوة بود .... و ظن آنست که در آن وقت پادشاهزاده در سن چهارده سالگی یا پانزده سالگی بیش ازین نبود

[2] Al-Juzjani: *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, Calcutta ed. 1864, Br. Mus. Add 26, 189 f. 162 b.

mad b. Husamu'd-Din 'Umar b. Burhanu'd-Din 'Abdu'l-'Aziz b. Mazah who according to Ibnu'l-Athir (XI. 205) saved Bukhara in 559 A. H. from being looted by the Qarluqs. Now Radiu'd-Din could not have been less than twenty years old when he composed the ode dated 559 A. H. Therefore he was born in or before 539 A. H. In other words, though the precise dates of his birth and death are unknown, there can be no doubt that Radiu'd-Din was living between 539 and 597 A. H. and therefore that he was at least fifty-eight years of age at the time of his death.

Amir Khusraw (died 1325 A.D.), "the greatest of all the poets of India who have written in Persian,"[1] says in his preface to the *Poems of Maturity* that his great models were Sana'i and Khaqani in contemplative poetry, Radiu'd-Din of Nishapur and Kamalu'd-Din of Isfahan in panegyric and imaginative poetry, and Nizami and Sa'di in epic and lyrical poetry. The actual words are[2] :—

آنچه شعر تخلص و خلاصهٔ خیال است
که از پرده دل بیرون داده‌ام تتبع طبع
مرضی رضی و کمال است

Whatever I have produced in the form of panegyric and imaginative verse is an imitation of the admirable (poetical) gifts of Raḍī (u'd-Dīn) and Kamāl (u'd-Dīn).

Further, Amir Khusraw considers Radiu'd-Din a versatile genius, poetry being his least qualification :—

از متقدمان که بر فنون علم مملو و
مشحون بوده‌اند و فروترین پایهٔ
ایشان انشاء شعر بود چون مولانا
رضی‌الدین نیشابوری و مولانا
ظهیرالدین فاریابی

Of ancient scholars whose knowledge was so encyclopædic that poetry was their least qualification there are two instances: Raḍīu'd-Dīn of Nīshāpūr and Ẓahīru'd-Dīn of Fāryāb.

In other words, the greatest of all the Persian poets of India considers Radiu'd-Din to be one of the greatest of the poets of Persia. Mirza Muhammad, the celebrated modern Orientalist, is of similar opinion. Obviously, therefore, there is no need to stress the value of Radiu'd-Din's *diwan*; and all lovers of research should remain indebted to THE ARYAN PATH and its brilliant Editor for reintroducing Radiu'd-Din of Nishapur, after 600 years, to the academic world.

ROYAL PATRONS OF RADIU'D-DIN

The persons mentioned in the *diwan* of Radiu'd-Din fall under the following four categories: royal patrons, sadrs of the House of Burhan, noblemen and theologians of the Qara-Khanid and the Burhanid courts and people not associated with Bukhara or Samarqand.

Of royal patrons, the identification is easily effected by collating Radiu'd-Din's evidence with the evidence

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 135.
[2] Br. Mus. MS. Or. 21104 f. 163 a.

derived from other sources, as follows :—

(i): Nuṣratu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Arslān Khān (Ode XLIII) :—

نصرت دنیا و دین آن شه شاهان سخن
که همه چیزش نادر سخنی شهوار است
ارسلان خان ملکی عادل آسان بذلی
که بدریا بر بذل کرمش دشوار است

Amongst the Qarā-Khānids of the sixth century A. H. there is only one ruler with this name and he is the last of the Qarā-Khānids whom 'Awfī met in 597 A. H. and whom he calls Nuṣratu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Qilij Arslān Khāqān 'Uṣmān (*Lubābu'l-Albāb* I. 44), ruled *c.* 597-609 A. H.

(ii) a: Jalāl-i-Dawlat Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān (Ode IX) :—

جلال دولت عالی قلج طمغاج خان شاهی
که بر خوان سخای خود جهان را ما حضر دارد

b: Jalāl-i-Dawlat Ṭamghāj Khān (Ode XI) whose son was drowned in the Oxus—a fact bemoaned by the Ṣadr-i-Jahān :—

جلال دولت طمغاج خان که تابع اوست
همیشه طالع مسعود و طائر میمون

Again there is only one ruler of this name, *viz.*, the father of the Arslān Khān 'Uṣmān above-mentioned, whom 'Awfī calls Jalālu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn (*Lubābu'l-Albāb*, I. 42), ruled 574—*c.* 597 A. H. This identification is certain for Chaghrī Khān Jalālu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn 'Alī (See *infra* the account of his reign), who ruled 551-556 A. H., does not possess the title of Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān; nor does Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān Abu'l-Ma'ālī Ḥasan known as Ḥasan-tagīn b. 'Alī b. 'Abdu'l-Mu'min (Ibnu'l-Athīr, XI. 55) who ruled *c.* 530 A. H. possess the title of Jalāl-i-Dawlat.

(iii) a: Ruknu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn who brought to Samarqand and Bukhārā the splendours of Sabā (Ode VIII) :—

خسرو عالم رکن‌الدین والدنیا آنکه
رنبتش مسند بر نارک جوزا آورد
هرچه در شهر سبا بود ز امن و نزهت
عدل شاهش بسمرقند و بخارا آورد

b: The redress of the nation, Ṭamghāj Khān, who conquered Balkh and Zāmin (Ode X) :—

غیاث ملت طمغاج خان شه دوران
که سر ستاند از انکش نمی نهد گردن
حدیث تیغ خود از فتح بلخ و زامن پرس
چه خیزد از سخن نازل من الکن ؟

c: Ṭūṭī has taken refuge in Balkh; when thy armies made a charge from the fortress of Handawān in Balkh, Ṭūṭī fled to Marv (Ode VII). See *infra.*

d: Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ṭamghāj Khān, who having subdued all his enemies in the east must now contemplate a conquest of the west (Ode V) :—

ابوالمظفر طمغاج خان که می نرسد
بحد مدحت او وهم هیچ شاه ستای
شها چو هیچ مخالف ترا بشرق نماند
عنان فتح و ظفر زین سپر بغرب گرای

He is Ruknu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Qutlugh Bilgā-beg Abu'l-Muẓaffar Qilij Ṭamghāj Khāqān Mas'ūd (See *infra* the account of his reign), ruled 556-574 A. H., whose achievements in the field (including a campaign in the Zāmin steppe) are thus described by his secretary: "During the reign of His Majesty there occurred a series of triumphs and conquests, not taking into consideration those innumerable victories not gained by him in person.

And if they were to ask the triumphal arch of Samarqand it would itself declare how every hour his enemies come on their heads—and not on their feet—to visit the promenades of his kingdom." These military achievements independently mentioned by two contemporaries—in verse by Raḍiu'd-Dīn; in prose by al-Kātib as-Samarqandī—are of great value in establishing Ruknu'd-Dīn's identity, for a homonymous Qarā-Khānid ruler—Ruknu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Burhānu'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ṭamghāj Bughrā Khān Ibrāhīm b. Bughrā-khān Sulaymān-tagīn b. Dā'ūd Kūch-tagīn b. Abu Ishāq Ṭamghāj Khān Ibrāhīm Būri-tagīn b. Nāṣiru'l-Haq Arslān Īlak Naṣr b. Arslān Khān 'Alī Ḥāriq ruled for a short time after 524 A. H. as Sulṭān Sinjar's nominee (See the official letter of Sinjar, *Texts*, p. 24) :—

خاقان اعظم عادل موید فرزند اعز
رکن الدنیا والدین برهان الاسلام
والمسلمین ابوالمظفر طمغاج بغرا خان
ابراهیم بن سلیمان ادام الله دولة که
فرزند و پروردهٔ ماست و در سایهٔ امن
ما نشو و نما یافته و از آوان مهد الی
هذالعهد در تلقین و تعلیم ما بحکم
ارادت قدیم و رای صایب او را بر
سر بر ملک ترکستان نصب فرمودیم

(iv) a: Ṭamghāj Khān (Ode IV) :—

طمغاج خان عالم عادل که هیچ کوه
با ضربت سنانش ندارد توان و تاب

idem (Ode VI) :—

طمغاج خان عادل آن رزم دوستی
کز گرد حرب سازد عطر مشام خویش

b: Ṭamghāj Khāqān (Ode LXXXVI) :

شهنشاه طمغاج خاقان عادل
که آراست ایوان و تخت کیانی

This Ṭamghāj Khān or Khāqān is either Jalālu'd-Dīn or Ruknu'd-Dīn above mentioned. "Ṭamghaj Khān" by itself has no identification value for between 524 and 609 A. H., *i. e.*, approximately during the period of Radīu'd-Dīn, there reigned no less than six Ṭamghāj Khāns as follows :—

1. Tamghaj Khan (so 'Awfi) Muhammad Tagin Arslan Khan b. Bughra Khan Sulayman-tagin died at Balkh in 524 A. H.
2. Ruknu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Burhanu'l-Islam wa'l-Muslimin Abu'l-Muzaffar Tamghaj Bughra Khan Ibrahim b. Bughra Khan Sulayman-tagin, brother to (1) above, ruled for a short time after 524 A.H.
3. Qilij Tamghaj Khan Abu'l-Ma'ali Hasan (known as Hasan-tagin) b. 'Ali b. 'Abdu'l-Mu'min, successor to (2) above, ruled *c.* 530 A. H.
4. Tamghaj Khan Ibrahim b. Tamghaj Khan Muhammad-tagin Arslan Khan b. Bughra Khan Sulayman-tagin, son to (1) above, ruled 536-551 A. H. (Ibnu'l-Athir, XI. 133 and Jamal Qarshi, *Texts*, p. 132)
5. Ruknu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Qutlugh Bilgabeg Abu'l-Muzaffar Qilij Tamghaj Khan Mas'ud b. Chaghri Khan Jalalu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din 'Ali b. Qilij Tamghaj Khan Abu'l-Ma'ali Hasan known as Hasan-tagin, grandson to (3) above, ruled 556-574 A.H.
6. Jalalu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Qilij Tamghaj Khan Ibrahim b. Husayn, successor to (5) above, ruled 574—*c.*597 A.H.

(v): Nuṣratu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Din Ibrāhīm (Ode II) :—

نصرت الدنیا والدین شه شرق ابراهیم
که سزد خاک درش سجده گه قیصر و رای

There is no Qarā-Khānid ruler with this name and title. Nuṣratu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn *ibn* Ibrāhīm ruled *c.* 597-609 A. H., and Jalālu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm ruled 574—*c.*597 A. H.

To summarize, therefore, the general result. The *diwan* of Radiu'd-Din is in honour of the three Qara-Khanid rulers (1) Ruknu'd-Dunya

wa'd-Din Qutlugh Bilga-beg Abu'l-Muzaffar Qilij Tamghaj Khan Mas'ud b. Chaghri Khan Jalalu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din 'Ali b. Qilij Tamghaj Khan Abu'l-Ma'ali Hasan, known as Hasan-tagin b. 'Ali b. 'Abdu'l-Mu'min (2) Jalalu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Qilij Tamghaj Khan Ibrahim b. Husayn and (3) Nusratu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Qilij Arslan Khaqan 'Usman b. Jalalu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Qilij Tamghaj Khan Ibrahim b. Husayn who ruled serially, in descending order, from 556 to 574 A. H., 574 to *c.* 597 A. H., and *c.* 597 to 609 A. H., respectively. The detailed history of these three kings is presented in a subsequent article. For the sake of continuity of argument I have also given the history of Jalalu'd-Din, who began his reign in 551 A. H.

THE REIGN OF JALALU'D-DIN I

Chaghri Khan (so in Ibnu'l-Athir, XI. 205) or Kuk Saghar (so in Juwayni, II, p. 14) or Kurk Sa'un (so in the official letter sent by Sinjar to this ruler[1]) or Qilij Qara-Khan (so in the *Sindbad-namah*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 255) Jalalu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din (so in the *A'radu's-Siyasat fi Aghradi'r-Riyasat*, Leyden MS. Codex 904 Warn. f. 3a) 'Ali (so in the official letter) b. Hasan (so in the official letter) or b. Hasan-tagin (so in the *Takmilu't-Akhbar* of 'Ali Zaynu'l-'Abidin, unique Tihran MS., composed in 978 A. H. and dedicated to Pari Khanum, daughter of Shah Tahmasp) or b. Husayn (so in Juwayni II, p. 14) succeeded to the throne in 551 A. H. under the auspices of the Gur Khan of the Qara-Khitays. In 553 A. H. he killed Bayghu Khan (so in Juwayni and 'Ali Zaynu'l-'Abidin), chief of the Qarluqs : other Qarluq leaders of whom the chief was Lajin Beg, together with the sons of the murderd Bayghu, sought protection at the court of the Khwarazmshah Il-Arslan, who gave them shelter and in Jumada II 553 A. H. marched to Transoxania. Thereupon the Khan of Samarqand, *i. e.*, Jalalu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din 'Ali collected the Turkman steppe-dwellers between Qarakul and Jand, and took them to Samarqand where he fortified himself and sought the help of the Qara-Khitays who sent 10,000 men under Ilak Turkman. Meanwhile Il-Arslan, having won over the inhabitants of Bukhara by (false) promises, proceeded to Samarqand where for a time the two armies of Khwarazm and Samarqand stood facing each other on opposite banks of the Zarafshan (Ab-i-Sughd). Finally with the mediation of the divines and *literati* of Samarqand a peace was patched up on condition that the Qarluq amirs should be restored with honour to their functions (Juwayni II, pp. 14-15).

Nothing more is known of Jalalu'd-

[1] Barthold's *Turkestan : Texts*, p. 34:—

این نامه از مجلس خداوند ملک ماضی قدس الله روحه نویسد بملک ماضی خاقان سمرقند علی بن الحسن کرک ساعون رحمه الله....

Din's reign. Of the notables of his court one Hizhabru'd-Din functioned as his envoy at the court of Sinjar.[1]

HADI HASAN

SCIENCE AND METAPHYSICS

Mutual consistency of oberved phenomena is the touchstone of theory, whether scientific hypothesis or cosmic ultimate. When science is defined as it is by Dr. J. A. Gengerelli of the Psychology Department of the University of California, in his discussion of "Facts and Philosophers" in *The Scientific Monthly* for May 1942, as, " in effect, that mode of classifying the universe which makes of perception the last court of appeal," the need for a broad-based philosophy with its frame for the facts becomes apparent. Dr. Gengerelli's concession of the scientist's need of theories does not go far enough.

Granting that science and philosophy demand equal " rigour and hard-headedness in thinking, " and that the effort of both is " to embrace as many experiences as possible under the fewest possible rubrics with the minimum number of contradictions, " we yet cannot agree with Dr. Gengerelli that the difference between their respective domains " is of the same sort as the difference between physics and chemistry, " or that " the difference exists by virtue of the difference in the questions asked. "

Philosophy's field is that of general laws and abstract principles ; the proper concern of science is with specific laws in operation and with concrete manifestations. When the scientist assumes the rôle of metaphysician he ceases to speak as scientist and his pronouncements should carry no authority.

Hypotheses within the specific field of investigation are indispensable to scientific advance, as Dr. Gengerelli points out, but ontology lies outside the scientist's proper scope and yet is indispensable to a rational world-view. The scientist depends upon inductive reasoning but without the complementary deductions of the metaphysician from the eternal verities the picture that science can paint of the world will be all foreground, lacking the setting that alone can give perspective and bring out the harmonious relations between the several parts. Dr. Gengerelli gives short shrift to the metaphysical postulate that " The Universe is One " but in questioning its demonstrability he throws away the one sure clue that could guide to a genuine philosophy of science—that of analogy, which rests upon the unity of all.

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[1] *Texts*, p. 34 :— معتمد جالب محروس امير أجل هزبرالدين....

FOLK-SONGS, LEGENDS AND MYSTICISM

[This is the second in the series of **Shri Devendra Satyarthi's** articles.—ED.]

II.—DEATH AND LOVE

I shall now deal with the folk-song in its relation to the people's mystic conception of life. This type of song, like all genuine folk-songs, is anonymous. The following example, sung preferably to the *Asa Rag* at dawn, is heard even in the towns. Presumably it was old when Sufi poetry in the Punjab was in its infancy. Perhaps it had lived there for thousands of years, substituting new words for old as the language of the people changed, as is the way of folk-songs the world over. It seems older, in its present text, than Bullhe Shah (1680-1758) whom Lajwanti Rama Krishna recognises as "the greatest of Punjabi mystics." Strangely enough, in this song meant to be sung at dawn, the girl (representing the Soul) addressing her mother paints a picture of the evening :—

Days to play are but four, mother O !
Days to play are but four !
In father's land
I'll come no more !
Days to play are but four !

I played and played and lo !
The evening overtakes me, mother O !
And I think
Of household no more
Mother, days to play are but four !

Here lie the rolls of carded cotton !
Here lie compact pieces of carded cotton !
The useless spindle has
Twists no less than four !
Mother, days to play are but four !

In father's land
I'll come no more ![1]
Days to play are but four, mother O !

A tradition of long standing has taught the daughters of the soil, young and old, to meet and spin together competitively, *Tinjan* or *Trinjan* being their own term for this spinning-bee. The girls or women sitting today in the *Trinjan* are not sure that their next meeting will find them all there. The mystic folk-song compares the world to a *Trinjan*, where souls meet like spinners.

Passengers on a ferry-boat,
Girls in a spinning-bee ;
With no certainty
Of meeting again,
They meet now happily !

There is talk between a spinner and a banyan of a spinning-bee compound :—

" The spinning-wheels are here,
Small reed-baskets to hold hanks are here :
The spindles are all broken !
Whither went the spinners, O banyan ? "

[1] Compare Husain's Sufi trend: *Vatt nahin avana, bholie mae; eh vari vela eh vari da !* (No more will I have to come here, innocent mother. This turn and this time are but for this turn !) Like Husain, the girl of the folk-song believes that she will no more be born in the world.

"Some are at their parents', some with their fathers-in-law,
Some followed the long road of Death
The flasks remained all full!
And near each flask lies a cup!" [1]

The *Mahl*, or the thread that is used to connect the wheel with the spindle, may stand for an unsteady mind.

O thread between the wheel and the spindle!
O weak thread! O listen to me;
Again and again you break,
Despite all my care!

The loom, too, becomes an emblem of the human body. The span of emotions is represented by the warp.

Thak, thak, the loom makes a noise!
The warp is disordered!

Or the warp and the woof—the *Tani* and the *Peta*—were like thoughts; the *Lalari*, or the dyer, was the teacher.

Listen to me, O warp!
Listen to me, O woof!
The fast dye solved
All doubts.

The weaver stiffens the cotton yarn with a paste made of wheat flour. This paste, known as *Pan*, symbolized pride. The yarn, like a mystic, is made to speak thus:—

"Don't apply more 'paste'
to me, Weaver!"

The bobbin of the weaver's shuttle is called *Nali*. "*Main Nali julahe di!*" (I am the Weaver's bobbin) is the refrain of an old song; the mystic wanders like the moving bobbin. In another mood the mystic says, "*Main nikke soot di atti*" (I am a skein of fine yarn.) Like similes are taken from almost every kind of village labour.

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, who has celebrated the "Song-Words of a Punjabi Singer," [2] speaks of their "most definite folk-character," of their "windy freshness," of the passionate simplicity of the words," and of "the solidity and noble gravity of the tune."

"Death," a beautiful lament for the Beloved, expresses also the attachment of the Punjabi people to their land: in its third line, with pathetic helplessness a woman prays her lord to return from the land of Death, as if he had gone away from home to another part of India or perhaps emigrated in search of work.

Who knows if one of the songs that Huxley heard at Lahore [3] was not by Bullhe Shah, the Sufi poet of the Punjab, many of whose songs are astonishingly popular alike with accomplished musicians and with the people? Bullhe Shah's *Debate of Love and Law* has the mystic trend the folk mind recognises at once, and though it is not a folk-song in the strict sense, the people have always loved it. Hour by hour *Shara*, or the laws of dogmatic religion, want to forbid man to express the free voice of *Ishk*, or

[1] Mark the influence of Persian Sufi poetry. The God-fearing tiller of the soil would not drink; nor would the young girls at a spinning-bee ever have flasks of wine and cups with them.

[2] *Art and Swadeshi*. (Ganesh and Co., Madras.)

[3] *Rotunda* (1932), p. 984.

Love, for God. The mystic listens to no *Shara*, he walks on the path of *Ishk*. So goes the poet's song, originally known as *Kafi*.

Love and Law are quarrelling!
My heart's doubt, O let me clear:
Law's questions and Love's answers
All, O saint, I'll tell (pray, hear)!
Law says: "Go to the Mullah,
Learn principles and morals!"
Love says: "A single letter is enough,
O shut up all the books."
Law says: "Bathe five times (a day),
Worship alone in the temple."
Love says: "Your worship is false,
If you think as separate (from God)."
Law says: "Have shame!
Stop this illumination!"
Love says: "What's this veil for?
Let the vision be open!"
Law says: "Go inside the mosque;
Perform the duty of prayer."
Love says: "Go to the wine-house;
Drinking read the Naphal prayer."
Law says: "Let's go to heaven;
Heaven's fruit we'll eat."
Love says: "O, I'm the ruler there;
With my hands the fruits I'll distribute."
Law says: "Go, believer, and perform the *Hajj*;
The *Sirat* bridge you'll have to cross."
Love says: "The Beloved's door is the Ka'aba;
From there I won't stir."
Law says: "On the cross
We had placed Shah Mansur."
Love says: "O you did well;
You made him enter the Beloved's door."
Love's rank is the highest heaven!
The creation's crown it is:
He created out of Love
Bullha, the humble man born of dust!

Each moment of Love is life reborn for the mystic. Some secret warmth leads him into a dancing measure. An old peasant once told me :—

"I am a piece of marble. Day and night Love chisels me. I know no temple or mosque. Onward I dance to meet my Beloved. I go from one field to another. In the fields lives my soul. Not in heaven, but in the fields lives my Beloved. That is why they bear crops. And he lives in me, in my little life, little like a pool, and lo! He flows with me into a river."

Heer, the peasant-princess of Punjabi poetry, with her Beloved, Ranjha, has come to life in the mystic songs. The mystic likens his soul to Heer, the fairest girl of her land, who met her Beloved, Ranjha, in death; Heer herself becomes Ranjha when she meets him in her heart.[1] Again and again, Heer's Beloved, Ranjha, inspires the folk-songs that grow one from another. "Ready for the Journey," if we may call it so (for folk-songs do not always have titles), a little song translated from Western Punjabi, is illustrative of the deep-rooted yearning of the human soul for the Beloved.

Stay ye who'll stay here,
I stand ready for the journey!
Separation's cry came in!
In the stirrup I put my foot,
And lo! I've mounted!
You are proud, O tree!
Lo! on your head comes
The wood-handled axe!
O, it cut you all to pieces!

[1] See Bullhe Shah's song: *Ranjha Ranjha Kardi ni main, ape Ranjha hoee; saddo ni mainu Dhido Ranjha, Heer na akho koee! Ranjha main vich main Ranjhe vich, hor khial na koee; main nahin oh ape hai apni ap kare diljoee!...* (Uttering the name of Ranjha, ye maidens, I've myself become Ranjha. Call me Dhido Ranjha; none should call me Heer. Ranjha within me: I within Ranjha; no other thought is there! I exist no more: He Himself exists: He Himself amuses Himself!)

Some pieces are picked up and burnt !
Some become rafters in a palace !
Some meet my Lord Ranjha !
Sighingly some stand and yearn !

Sassi, known well even in Sindhi poems and songs, is another heroine of Punjabi love-poetry ; her Beloved, Punnu, like Ranjha, has come to symbolize the divine Beloved and Sassi, like Heer, stands for the human soul.[1] The scene in the burning desert, where the rose-footed Sassi wanders in search of her Beloved, expresses metaphorically the human soul's tireless striving after union with God. Sassi addresses the desert thus :—

Tell me, O desert, if you saw anywhere
The black she-camel of my Punnu ? [2]
Where I meet my Punnu,
Blessed indeed will be that spot !

And :—

What do you see, O pitiless desert ?
My rosy feet have been all roasted !
At last I'll meet Punnu, the Moon ;
At a slow pace or in haste !
Here stands Death ; she winks at me !
Immoderately she laughs !
Death is false ; the grave is false !
Who'll kill Sassi?
Punnu lives in my eyes !
It's all His illumination !
Wait a little, O grave !
Behold Love's miracle ! [3]

Sohni is another sister of Heer and Sassi ; her perfect love for Mahiwal has become an emblem of divine love in mystical folk-songs. In these songs Sohni is still seen crossing the river Chenab to meet her beloved, Mahiwal. Sohni's sister-in-law, who knew her secret, one day replaced her baked pitcher by an unbaked one in the bushes on the bank of the river. And at the usual hour at night Sohni came and took the pitcher to cross on it the deep, wide waters to meet Mahiwal ; perhaps she perceived the trick, but where was the time to return home to get the baked pitcher ? Since Mahiwal, who used to come himself to meet her, had been indisposed for some days, Sohni took courage immediately and entered the Chenab on the unbaked pitcher. In songs, we find her pitcher giving way in the water ; she is being drowned. " Do not eat my eyes, ye crocodiles, my eyes alone, for I'll see my Beloved, " we hear her saying. " All my flesh eat if you like, except my eyes. "

Sohni herself is drowned,
But her soul still swims in the Chenab.

With all its mystic vitality, the folk-song persists in the Punjab ; the Sufi, to whom the search for the Beloved is the great reality, immortalizes the adventure of Sohni.

DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

[1] "...Hir and Ranjha and Sassi and Punnu in all probability were of Indo-Scythian origin, but the poets have overlaid them with Muslim colours..."—Lajwanti Rama Krishna, *Punjabi Sufi Poets.* (Oxford University Press)

[2] Compare Hashim, the Punjabi Sufi poet : *Orak vakat kaihar dian kookan sun patthar dhal jave ! Jis dachi mera Punnu kharia shala oh dojakh vich jave ! Ya us nehu lagge vich virhon vang Sassi jar jave ! Hashim maut pave karvanan tukhm zaminon jave !* (Life's last moments ! Cries of Death's agony ! Hearing them a stone would melt. The she-camel, that carried away my Punnu, O Lord, may she go to hell ! Or may she fall in love (with someone), suffer in desertion and be burnt like Sassi ! May death fall on the caravans, says Hashim, and their seed (trace) be removed from the earth !)

[3] The story goes on to tell that Sassi's soul met Punnu in his dream and when he, having freed himself from parental ties, came to Sassi's grave in the desert he fell dead on it. As if by miracle, the grave opened and putting out her arms Sassi received her Beloved.

NEW BOOKS AND OLD

GANDHIJI ON THE "GITA" *

The influence of the *Gita* on Gandhiji's life and character is well known. He is never tired of telling us what he owes to that great scripture. In a beautiful and characteristically Hindu phrase he calls the *Gita* his mother who has taken for him the place of his long-lost earthly mother. He has also called it his spiritual dictionary, his book of daily reference. He has translated it into his own mother-tongue—Gujarati—with an introduction on the message of the *Gita*. There he says that he has endeavoured to enforce the meaning of the *Gita* in his own conduct for an unbroken period of forty years. He published his own English translation of this introduction more than ten years ago, in *Young India* of 6th August 1931. But earlier than that (12th November 1925) he had written a long article in *Young India* on the meaning of the *Gita*. These two, together with his famous address on the *Gita* to the students of the Benares Hindu University during August 1934, would practically suffice for a study of his opinions on the *Gita*. But we can never have too much on any subject from Gandhiji's pen. Therefore we are thankful to Shri Jag Parvesh Chander for including in the collection before us not only these three important items but also almost all that Gandhiji has said in a casual way on the *Gita* in his *Young India*, his *Harijan* and his autobiography. Only we wish that all the extracts given here had been arranged in chronological order. That would have enabled us to see whether there had been any development in Gandhiji's thoughts on the *Gita*.

Gandhiji calls his Gujarati translation of the *Gita*, *Anāsakti Yoga* or the Yoga of detachment and renunciation. According to him, the object of the *Gita* is to show in the clearest possible language the most excellent way to self-realisation. That way is renunciation—renunciation not of action, but of the fruit of action.

> This is the centre round which the *Gita* is woven. This renunciation is the central sun round which devotion, knowledge and the rest revolve like planets.

Following in the footsteps of the *Gita*, Gandhiji argues that as long as we are confined in the prison-house of the body we are forced to act, and every action of ours is bound to be imperfect, tainted by sin. How to get over this sin-tainted action? The *Gita* answers, by desirelessness, by renouncing the fruit of action, by dedicating all our activities to the Deity and surrendering ourselves to It body and soul. And for this renunciation right knowledge is required, and for preventing the knowledge from running riot and becoming a mere intellectual feat, devotion is required. Jnana is not mere intellectual knowledge, nor Bhakti mere soft-hearted effusiveness. Both of them have to stand the test of action and of renunciation of action.

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* *Gita the Mother*. By M. K. GANDHI; edited by JAG PARVESH CHANDER. (Free India Publications, Commercial Bldgs., The Mall, Lahore. Rs. 2/4)

At this point in his exposition of Karma-Yoga as taught in the *Gita* Gandhiji draws our attention to two significant details: First, renunciation of the fruit of action does not mean mere indifference to the result. On the contrary, he says :—

> In regard to every action one must know the result that is expected to follow, the means thereto and the capacity for it.

In other words, in the name of the renunciation of the fruit of action we should not be reckless in our actions. The *Gita* itself lends support to this view in the following verse which deserves to be quoted more often than it is :—

> Any action which is undertaken through ignorance, without regard to consequences or to loss and injury and without regard to one's capacity is said to be a tamasic action. XVIII. 25.

Secondly, Gandhiji says that the renunciation of the fruit of action does not mean absence of fruit for the renouncer, it only means absence of hankering after fruit. As a matter of fact, he who renounces the fruit reaps a thousandfold. Even when the action fails he has his abundant spiritual reward. As the *Gita* puts it, he who does good never comes to grief.

But the most interesting feature of Gandhiji's exposition of the *Gita* is that he deduces all his principles of Satyagraha from its teaching. He goes even further and says, "As a Satyagrahi I can declare that the *Gita* is ever presenting me with fresh lessons." From the *Gita* doctrine of Swadharma he deduces the law of Swadeshi. According to him "Swadeshi is Swadharma applied to one's immediate environment." One's duty is first to one's own immediate neighbours. He who runs to the ends of the earth for service to mankind fails in his duty to his neighbours who are in need. He who supports the mill-owners in England or Japan by buying foreign cloth is guilty of having neglected the starving weavers of his own country. Charity should begin at home, though it may extend afterwards according to its capacity. From the *Gita*, again, Gandhiji deduces his faith in the spinning-wheel for India. He quotes the well-known verses in the third chapter on the *Yajna-chakra* or the wheel of sacrifice and says that karma there means physical labour, and that in the peculiar conditions of India the fittest and the most acceptable sacrificial labour with which we can serve the world is spinning. He defines Yajna as an act directed to the welfare of others, done without desiring any return, and pleads that spinning should be raised to the rank of a daily *Maha-Yajna*.

But the most important deduction which Gandhiji draws from the *Gita* is his gospel of non-violence. To many this may seem very startling, as the *Gita* was delivered on a battle-field. But the contradiction is only apparent and Gandhiji's logic is unassailable. He does not say that the *Gita* teaches non-violence directly, but that non-violence is the inevitable result if its teaching is faithfully followed. The steps in his argument may be arranged thus :—

(i) The perfect renunciation which the *Gita* teaches is impossible without perfect observance of Ahimsa in every shape and form. In fact, Ahimsa is included in desirelessness.

(ii) Himsa is impossible without anger, without attachment, without hatred. And the *Gita* strives to carry

us to a state beyond Sattva, Rajas and Tamas—a state that evidently excludes anger, attachment and hatred.

(iii) In the descriptions of the perfect man given by the *Gita* there is no reference at all to physical warfare.

(iv) The real theme of the *Gita* is self-realisation and its means, namely, renunciation of the fruit of action. The fight between the two armies is only an occasion to expound the theme. The *Mahabharata* is a profoundly religious book, largely allegorical, in no way meant to be a historical record in the sense that modern historical books are.

(v) Even the great epic of which the *Gita* is a part has not established the necessity of physical warfare. On the contrary, it has proved its futility by showing the miserable state of the actors after the war.

(vi) Arjuna in the *Gita* is not a conscientious objector, nor Krishna an advocate of violence, as some absurdly suppose. The former believed in war. He had fought the Kaurava armies many times before. The question before him was not one of non-violence, but whether he should slay his nearest and dearest in a just war. And Krishna is something more than a mere historical character. In the *Gita* He is conceived as a perfect incarnation, teaching mankind through Arjuna the means to self-realisation.

(vii) If it is difficult to reconcile certain verses in the *Gita* with the teaching of non-violence, it is far more difficult to set the whole of the *Gita* in the framework of violence.

(viii) Himsa will go on eternally in this strange world. The *Gita* shows the way out by its teaching of Yoga. But it also shows that escape through cowardice is not the way. Far better than cowardice is killing and being killed in battle.

(ix) To say that the *Gita* teaches violence or justifies war because advice to kill was given on a particular occasion is as wrong as to say that Himsa is the law of life because a certain amount of it is inevitable in daily life.

(x) The *Gita* is not, of course, a treatise on non-violence, nor was it written to condemn war. Hinduism has never certainly condemned war as Gandhiji does. But Hinduism is ever evolving. It is a progressive revelation, an eternal quest after truth. The *Gita* itself is an instance in point. It has given a new meaning to the old terms Yoga, Karma, Yajna and Sanyasa and thereby revolutionized Hindu religious thought. Gandhiji claims that in giving a new meaning to Yuddha, *viz.*, non-violent battle, he has only followed in the footsteps of our great forefathers and has in no way strained the teaching of Hinduism.

There seems to be no doubt that the ideal karma-yogin described in the *Gita* is for all practical purposes a Satyagrahi. For he has no trace of anger, ill-will or hatred in him, he is free from attachments, he is absolutely selfless, he is unmoved by success or failure; he has completely surrendered himself to God and he works in the world only to carry out the divine will. Such a character is obviously in harmony with a background of non-violence rather than of violence. The fact is, that Indian spirituality throughout its long history has been slowly but steadily progressing in the practice of non-violence. From the *Vedas* to the *Upanishads*, from the *Upanishads* to the Avatar of the *Gita*, from the Avatar of the *Gita* to the Founders of Jainism

and Buddhism and from them to the prophet of Satyagraha—there has been a steady march.

The *Gita* says :—

Surrender all thy actions to me and fight —with thy mind in unison with the spirit and free from every desire and trace of self and all thy passion spent.

Buddha says :—

Moreover, brethren, though robbers who are highwaymen, should with a two-handed saw carve you in pieces limb by limb, yet if the mind of any one of you should be offended thereat, such an one is no follower of my Gospel.

Gandhiji says :—

I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not meant merely for the Rishis and Saints. It is meant for the common people as well. Non-violence is the law of our species as violence is the law of the brute. The spirit lies dormant in the brute and he knows no law but that of physical might. The dignity of man requires obedience to a higher law—to the strength of the spirit. I have ventured to place before India the ancient law of self-sacrifice.

The line of development here is obvious.

D. S. SARMA

HEROES AND HEROINES IN ANCIENT DAYS *

At the back of all human life and attitude are thoughts, beliefs, patterns and ideals of behaviour, and particular sorts of impulsion to conduct which distinguish people from people and make each one's response or reaction characteristic. India's is one such type and derives from the peculiar cast of its history and its background of philosophy, religion and traditions. It is an ancient land full of interesting experiments in individual and institutional living. Its epics and legends have contributed as much to the making of the national character as the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads* and the *Smritis*. More: the influence of the former in shaping and sustaining the national character has been perhaps the greater.

Mr. G. A. Natesan, who before now has published many valuable books, has recently brought out a new kind of six selections dealing within a brief compass with this precious, live heritage of India. And here is a garland of thirteen stories strung by Shri A. M. Srinivasachariar, an able pandit who condenses each story in the poet's own words. Shri V. Narayanan translates them in easy, clear and correct English so as to bring out the quality of the original in his rendering. A few opening sentences help to acquaint us with the source and the general drift of the theme. Taste and judgement have gone into the work; for the selection—except perhaps of the last where the sublimity of a divine wedding is not realised as poetry or as it deserves—is unexceptionable; and the translation is happy. Occasionally one may quarrel with a word or a phrase or the manner of the translation, but that does not matter. If the stories are not all on the same artistic level and stress more the ethical side of life, or idealise in plenty, it is a feature, not a fault. The purpose of the *Mahabharata* etc., was not primarily artistic but that of

* *The Upakhyanamala :* A Garland of Stories. Condensed in the Poets' Own Words by PANDIT A. M. SRINIVASACHARIAR; translated by V. NARAYANAN, M. A., M. L. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. Re. 1/4)

holding up models of conduct for later men to emulate and to be inspired by. Incidentally they are social and psychological documents also; we hear in them the authentic note. To understand them is to understand basic India. The stories give more than a glimpse into its heart which beats ever steadfastly, loyally and courageously for truth and for the larger moral and social values. The hold of the poets is firm on the things of this life and of the hereafter. Today the need for understanding this heritage is as important to us as it is to others who look at us critically—since we are at the crossroads and are being called upon to make a choice between the national and the more Occidental modern modes of life, thought and organization.

Sir C.P.Ramaswamy Aiyar introduces this *Upākhyānamāla* with a valuable foreword and indicates how our epics and *Puranas* should be approached or accepted. Since eleven out of thirteen of these selections are taken from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, his statement that these "are today the foundation of Hindu ethics and in both are expounded and dramatised all those truths connected with Karma and rebirth and destiny and the essential uniformity and inflexible justice of the Divine Law which form the psychological bedrock of Hindu life," deserves attention.

Whatever be the temptation to belong to other nations and to affect other modes under the stress and strain of contemporary need, the spirit of Sāvitri, Damayanti and Sukanyā, the wifely wisdom of Draupadi, the idyllic and tender affection of Anasūya for Sita are pictures of woman and the womanly ideal which, we believe, India will long cherish. And none of these are weak or exploited types of womanhood.

No less will the individualist daring and striving of Viswāmitra, and the almost thoughtless and fateful liberality of Karna and Sibi, be examples. Harischandra is unique as a King who, fulfilling himself, successfully petitions the Gods for the boon of taking all his people with him to heaven as a condition to his own ascension. If Triśanku was not able to go to heaven in the flesh, such a gift is vouchsafed to Sibi, the essential difference in motivation, character and beneficence between the two explaining the difference in result. Among the stories, those of Sakuntalā, Sukanyā, Sāvitri and Nala are all—and the last most of all—among the loveliest in the world's literature.

Editor, translator and publisher, all deserve our thanks for re-presenting to us these pictures of glory which for ever remain fresh and beautiful.

V. SITARAMIAH

Freedom: Its Meaning. Planned and edited by RUTH NANDA ANSHEN. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., London. 16*s*.)

It is the task of scholars and thinkers at the present time, writes Benedetto Croce in his contribution to this comprehensive symposium,

> to keep the concept of freedom precise and clear, to broaden it and work out its philosophical foundations. That is the contribution that may properly be required of us in the many-sided struggle that is laid upon us to resurrect the ideal and restore life under freedom.

should provide for the reader concerned with the soil, but for whom this book might prove too hard going, a simplified presentation of his thesis.

Discipline of Peace gives the reader much: but it also demands much; and in these days men's minds, agitated by the violent flux of events, attend with difficulty to the words of the philosopher who would gain their ear as they pass. It would be a pity, indeed, if any man whose work today is with the shaping of tomorrow, missed this book, and for that adequate reason it is sincerely to be hoped that Dr. Barlow's diagnosis of the ills of humanity will be heard, and the remedy he indicates pondered by all who still have hope for the future of mankind.

GEORGE GODWIN

The Path to Reconstruction: A Brief Introduction to Albert Schweitzer's Philosophy of Civilization. By Mrs. C. E. B. RUSSELL. (Adam and Charles Black, Ltd., London. 3*s.* 6*d.*)

Mrs. Russell's introduction to Albert Schweitzer's *Philosophy of Civilization* is an excellently compressed exposition; in a very short space she has lucidly, sparely and with the deepest sincerity set out the main features of Schweitzer's thought and teaching in a way that makes them wholly acceptable. She will certainly achieve her aim of persuading her readers to investigate Schweitzer's books for themselves; which is not to say that her book should not be read for its own qualities.

Schweitzer entered the ranks of the great teachers when he sacrificed a distinguished career as musician and theologian to go to Africa as a missionary doctor; we can believe the teaching of a man who puts his own teaching into practice, and there is no doubt at all that Schweitzer is one of the great forces of human illumination in our day. He speaks directly to our condition, with the fullest understanding of what has happened to our civilization and of what must happen to men and women if they are to be the instruments of its rescue and preservation. It is regrettably possible that his optimism, though the sign of a moving faith in human nature, has less grounds than he hopes. However that may be, his philosophy, based upon a reverence for all forms of life, is certainly the dynamic needed by a social order characterized by what it is not fantastic to call a reverence for death. And Schweitzer's reverence for life is no mere sentimental and "humanitarian" concept; we must reach it as the outcome of true thought (in the Coleridgean sense of thinking-with-feeling), and accept it with an essentially religio-philosophic ability to form, and to act upon, a world-view based upon living and creative reason. There may be other terms in which Schweitzer's wisdom could be couched; but that it is wisdom of the truest and profoundest order, and of the order most needed today, there can be no doubt. In making this clear to us, Mrs. Russell's admirable little book, to which both the mind and the heart of the reader make response, does a distinct service.

R. H. WARD

Shri Ramanlal Vasantlal Desai Abhinandangranth. (Commemoration Volume) (R. R. Sheth and Co., Princess Street, Bombay 2. Rs. 2/8)

It is just over a decade since Shri Ramanlal (whose first books bear the date 1919-20) leapt into fame, in 1930-31, with *Divya-chakshu*, a novel of the Satyagraha movement then in full swing. From that time onwards his literary career has been trailing ever brighter "clouds of glory," shedding light and loveliness in almost every home of educated—and especially, young—Gujarat, by his eminently readable novels and short stories. The presentation to him, therefore, of this small Commemoration Volume of writings by affectionate, understanding relatives, friends and fellow-writers on

the occasion of his 51st birthday in May last is a tribute as well deserved as it is spontaneous.

The book contains about forty articles—four in English, one each in Marathi and Hindi, and the rest in Gujarati. A perusal of the English articles alone (by, among others, Mr. S. V. Mukerjea and Dr. B. Bhattacharya) would give the reader some real idea of the general nature, art and thought of the renowned author's novels as also of his glowing idealism and fine character, his very remarkable intellectual gifts, the none-too-easeful conditions under which he has to write, and (most precious of all) his rich humanity.

The Gujarati contributions are of three kinds: some give interesting personal reminiscences of the ever-amiable Ramanlal; others appraise the novelist's excellent work; and poems and writings on literary subjects are another kind of cordial tribute paid to him by some prominent Gujarati writers on the occasion (fittingly celebrated at Baroda on May 16th with a sumptuous banquet by the Committee to whose warm-hearted efforts we owe this volume also). These last are also welcome, but the greater value of most of the reminiscences and appraisals lies in the fact that they will be helpful and illuminating to the future historian in the final estimate of both the man and the author.

VIJAYARAI K. VAIDYA

A Biographical Dictionary of Puranic Personages. By AKSHAYA KUMARI DEVI. (Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 31, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Re. 1/-)

This brief biographical reference-book of Vedic and Puranic names seems to have assimilated the results of recent archæological discoveries and anthropological researches. It attempts to suggest the names of corresponding figures from the Egyptian, Greek or Roman mythologies and to indicate the racial affinities of the Puranic figures. Thus we are told that Prajapati is Orion, that Pushan is the Greek Pan and the Roman Faunus; that the Yakshas are the Australoids, that the the Rakshasas are Negroes, that the Danavas are Caspians and so on.

This is all interesting, no doubt, but it is equally hazardous to ascribe to the mythological figures a racial individuality merely on the evidence of anthropological similarities between personages whose characteristics are described in the *Puranas*, and the living specimens of a particular race.

The Vedic gods present greater difficulty. They need to be approached from the stand-point of an evolutionary mythology inasmuch as they had been changing with the vicissitudes of Vedic life. Corresponding to the several stages in such evolution, different traits came to be attached to particular divinities, *e. g.*, the present book describes the Vedic god Pushan as the Greek Pan and as the "god of flocks." Controversy has raged among Vedic scholars as to whether he is a solar or a lunar deity or whether his chief characteristic, "increase-giving," is compatible with the acceptance of Pushan merely as a pastoral divinity. Scholars like Oldenberg have definitely doubted the suggested similarity to the Greek Pan. Suggestions, on the contrary, are not few, seeking to connect this Vedic God with the Scandinavian *Thor* and the Greek *Hermes*. All this should convince us that this branch of knowledge is still in the fluidic stage of possible hypothesis and one fears that such a facile association of the Vedic gods and the personages of the Indian mythologies with those of other countries may, in the present state of our knowledge, lead to too easy acceptance of important conclusions without unquestionable corroboration.

The book, moreover, lacks design. No indication is given as to how the names are arranged. Otherwise, it contains a large body of information both interesting and valuable.

V. M. INAMDAR

CORRESPONDENCE

IS THERE NEED FOR A NEW "GITA"?

[Our esteemed contributor **Dr. R. Naga Raja Sarma** and **Shrimati M. A. Ruckmini**, Madras High Court advocate by profession but a Sanskritist by avocation, here express their reactions to Mr. S. K. George's article "Wanted—A New Gita" which appeared in the July 1942 issue of THE ARYAN PATH. Their letters present very much the same point of view. It is not the only one on this important subject, nor does it coincide with our own, but it is our policy to allow contributors free expression of opinion within the limits set by our impersonal, non-partisan and unsectarian aims. Our own attitude, which was suggested in the editorial introduction to Mr. George's article, is, briefly, that it is a new approach, not a new *Gita* which is wanted, that Krishna enjoined on his disciple the fearless performance of duty without self-interest but that He also taught him Universal Brotherhood and inculcated the spirit of dispassion in action—even in seemingly violent action. The *Gita* is not a book for Hindus only; it is a book of universal wisdom for all mortals.—ED.]

I

As the view presented by Mr. S. K. George in THE ARYAN PATH for July 1942, under the title "Wanted—A New *Gita*" is typical of a persistent misunderstanding of the main message of the *Gita*, I request you to allow me to point out that philosophically there is no need whatsoever for a "New *Gita*" as the time-honoured extant *Gita* is perfectly adequate for the full satisfaction of the metaphysical, moral and other thought-needs of aspirants and genuine seekers of spiritual Truths. I see that the editorial note itself constitutes a corrective to Mr. George's contribution. The note, however, being too brief, may not serve its purpose so well as a detailed examination of the contentions of Mr. George. Let me say at the outset that Mr. George's claim that "we have gone beyond the sense of duty, the morality, implied in the *Gita* on this subject" is not substantiated by the facts. The cry for a "New *Gita*" is like the cry of a school-child for a new book before it has touched the old.

Mr. George remarks, "We go to ancient scriptures to find answers for our modern problems." I emphatically assert that *we do not*. Modern Christians throughout the world do not go to the Bible to find answers for their pressing problems. Nor do Vedantins go to the *Gita* for answers to theirs. If a Vedantin is relieved of his purse by a gentleman of the highway, he does not consult the *Gita!* He instinctively approaches a police-outpost.

But Mr. George is clearly mistaken in judging that the *Gita* is not concerned with the problem "crucial for us today...the rightness or otherwise of the use of violence." I do not see how the problem is crucial today. It

is as old as mankind. The author of the *Gita* being a perfect psychologist (far superior to those who today dabble in modern Experimental Psychology and kill rabbits and guinea-pigs) advocated violence for well-known persons under well-known circumstances, and on well-known occasions. He likewise condemned violence for others, under different circumstances and on different occasions. The issue of violence *vs.* non-violence is artificial, and is the outcome of an inferiority complex. Weak people always swear by non-violence, and the strong always by violence.

Christ did not stop wars. Buddha did not. Mr. M. K. Gandhi will not. According to Hindu computation, the Kali-age is advancing. As it advances, worse things are in store for mankind, *not* the universalization of non-violence and the conversion of Hitler and Mussolini into orange-robed Buddhist monks or Vedantic sanyasis !

I do not think Mr. George's citation of a translation of a stanza by Edwin Arnold would support the *Gita's* having condemned those "who seek to find texts to suit their occasions." Why has Mr. George not cited chapter and verse? I would then immediately demonstrate that either the citation was irrelevant or Edwin Arnold had not caught the correct import of the stanza. I would further tell Mr. George that there is no harm, no philosophic impropriety, in finding texts to suit occasions. In the history of Indian philosophy heads have been broken over texts! Dvaitins and Advaitins, who have reached conclusions poles apart, have both *cited texts* to suit their purposes.

Mr. George must know that Hindu thought counsels manslaughter in warfare. (See the *Raja-dharma Parva* of the *Mahabharata.*) Krishna's attitude to war must be deemed most rational. War is a biological or adjustmental necessity on a par with epidemics and destructive natural phenomena like earthquakes. And a Kshatriya must fight. Against this Mr. George urges that "distinctions and tendencies...are not irremediable." I am afraid Mr. George has completely misunderstood the mission of religion, education and modern psychology. None of these would claim that its mission was the conversion of humanity into a fraternity of saints. There are no "accepted ideals." The average Hindu or Vedantin today violates his ideals as many times as there are hours in the day. So does the Christian. If there is no rigid classification of "Svadharma," there can be no rigid "accepted ideals" either. The ideals so-called are in fact mobile and volatile.

Again, I am afraid Mr. George has grievously misunderstood the mission of Buddha. Buddha never pretended or claimed to convert every Tom, Dick and Harry into a saint. And I am surprised to see Mr. George constructing a totally untenable interpretation on the "belief that sattvic elements are present in all men." The belief has neither factual nor speculative sanction. I would invite Mr. George's attention to Chapter 16 of the *Gita,* particularly to Stanza 20 in which the Lord emphatically declares that some are destined for eternal damnation. Neither Buddha's nor Krishna's appeal was ever indiscriminately made to all.

Rhetoric is no substitute for reason. The rhetorical question whether God incarnate would counsel a bomber to

do his duty regardless of the civil population that must be destroyed, is immature. X or Y having chosen the career of a bomber must do his duty as directed by his commander, regardless of the sentimental objection that the civil population would be destroyed. It was open to him to have declared himself a conscientious objector and refused to fight at all!

Incidentally, I do not see why appeal to loss of reputation should be judged "not on a particularly high plane." If a person professedly a philosopher does not behave like a philosopher, there must result loss of reputation; if a warrior does not behave like a warrior, there must be loss of reputation. I am unable to see why an appeal to loss of reputation should not be used to galvanise a sentimentalist into dynamic activity. It is all too easy to talk glibly of a man of conviction to whom "good name is the last thing." Very often such "conviction" is terribly error-ridden and such men of conviction care eagerly for their good name in a small hero-worshipping coterie.

I would thus indicate the main Vedantic conclusions: The *Gita* is essentially *Brahma-Vidya* (Science of the Absolute). It is likewise *Yoga-sastra* (practical psycho-physical discipline). I do not think Mr. George is quite correct when he observes that the "eternal wisdom of the *Gita*" lies in "its doctrine of Nishkama-karma." That is only one of the many means to a specific end. The eternal wisdom of the *Gita* refers to an exalted goal, which is nothing short of *perfect and complete freedom from the transmigratory career.* Its main message is how the eligible can secure that freedom. For the *Gita's* message of immortality is addressed to the *Adhikari* (eligible); the *Gita* never claimed to convert a donkey into a Derby-winner.

We have not correctly understood the exalted spiritual message of the *Gita*. We have not even made a serious and honest attempt to do so. Emphatically we have not gone beyond its intellectual and moral implications. There is thus no need for a new *Gita* today or at any time, for the matter of that, as Mr. George might realise if he would care to go through my contribution "The Truth about the *Gita*," published in THE ARYAN PATH for February 1934.

R. NAGA RAJA SARMA

Triplicane,
Madras.

II

I have read with interest the amazing but thought-provoking article in THE ARYAN PATH, "Wanted—A New *Gita*." It is indeed laudable that the writer has gone into the subject with a sincere spirit of enquiry and a genuine wish to study the *Gita* in a new light and to consider if it can be applied to modern problems. But in spite of his declaration at the outset that when we go to the ancient scriptures "we ought not to seek somehow to wrest answers from them to suit our needs" but "ought rather to understand the problems these ancient texts were faced with and the answers they gave to them in the light of their historical setting," he has set aside that very standard in his own article by propounding two interesting interpretations. The first is that the rigid classification of men into different classes and castes, whether on the principle of heredity or on that of dominant qualities, is no longer held to

be unalterably valid and the second, that war may have been a good thing, a necessary thing, at certain stages of man's evolutionary career, but is definitely no longer such under modern conditions.

First, as regards caste. In spite of all progress in material civilisation, even the most democratically organised human communities have not passed beyond the stage of distinctions of caste and creed. If there is not the distinction of caste by birth there is no transcending of caste by quality and by wealth, even in the most civilised Western countries. That distinction of man from man which is dependent upon the innate difference in men's temperamental qualities and endowments can never be wiped away altogether, so long as mankind continues to be what it is (a spirit clothed in flesh). So caste is bound to exist as long as human limitation has its place in mankind, in some form or other and under some name or other.

The manifestation of inequality in society is natural and inevitable, however much the manner of that manifestation might vary from time to time and place to place. For no modern would make the assertion that all men are equal, in spite of all the boasted theories of individualism and democracy. There is still the bane of colour and blood. The problem of the Negroes remains still unsolved. Gandhiji has declared emphatically:—

> They have no right to talk of protecting democracy, and protecting civilisation and human freedom, until the canker of white superiority is destroyed in its entirety.

The statement that "Sattvic elements are present in all men" should be taken with its own obvious limitations. It is one thing to say that all men have the potentialities of Sattvic character and a totally different thing to say that they are actually Sattvic. If that were true we should need no philosophy of conduct like the *Gita* nor an incarnate God like Krishna. The world would have come to an end long ago. On that same level is the practicability of the Ahimsa principle in this war-minded world. When each nation under the plea of preserving its own nationality flies at the throat of every other nation, when each Government is concentrating all its resources to discover the best means of maximum destruction possible within the minimum time and human means, the writer's plea of Ahimsa seems to me to be a cry in the wilderness. I am afraid the writer is confusing the ideal with the actual under the glamour of the principle.

That Ahimsa was possible to the most elevated man is evident from the *Gita* itself:—

> When the dweller in the body has crossed over these three qualities, whence all bodies have been produced, liberated from birth, death and old age and sorrow, he drinketh the nectar of immortality.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan has stated it in another form:—

> The reality of evil has become a part of the accepted code of philosophy....Who can withstand the temptation to regard evil as a fundamental reality, who that lives in this age to witness...such unspeakable atrocities of civilised Europe in the twentieth century?

That it requires a very high degree of self-control and mastery over passions to achieve the Brahmic qualities is more than once stressed in the *Gita* by its emphasis on the three degrees of Sattvic, Rajasic and Tamasic characteristics, and its placing of Ahimsa in

the same category as Truth and other spiritual qualities. The despair of the author of the *Gita* of seeing the world rise to the Sattvic level of conduct is clearly seen in his statement in Chapter XIV, Sloka 20, already quoted. The inventions of dive bombers, secret weapons, poison gas, and what not, are proof positive of the direction of the mentality of the people.

The second argument of the writer, that war is no longer necessary, takes one by surprise. I wonder what other scale of justice he has invented to weigh the propriety or impropriety of the claims of the different nations of the present world. No nation on earth would venture on the ghastly destruction of men and materials for the mere pleasure of it. I would say rather the nations are driven reluctantly to war by unforeseen circumstances. I think that was what Krishna meant when He said to Arjuna that nature would impel him to fight, however averse he might be to participating in the war.

Even the most militant belligerent would not admit that he had no justifiable cause to declare war.

Once begun, the war leads on the nations to more and more atrocious consequences, unexpected and even undreamt of by the nations themselves. The defeated nation cannot be expected to remain calm and passive when it is being flayed, neither would the victorious nation remain satisfied with the particular victory, which would, quite likely, be followed by defeat if further defence measures were not resorted to. It is useless to try to limit the effects of war. One thing leads to another in a chain of sequences the limit or end of which even God may not envisage. If the civil population is attacked and has to suffer the consequences, it is an inevitable and a necessary evil in this present state of affairs.

Under the present circumstances the distinction between civil and military population pales into insignificance. The people at large are so anxious about the results of the war, because of the war consciousness roused in them by the leaders of the nation, that they are willing to sacrifice their lives and property provided the disintegration of their empire could be prevented. Human nature changes little and the fighting instinct is one of its characteristics which has not been absolutely controlled yet. Moreover, most wars are in the cause of freedom and democracy and also they are a cure for the overpopulation of the world.

When once war is declared neither the war weapons nor the accuracy of aim would make it possible to isolate the civil population in a water-tight compartment from the military, out of the realm of danger. If the subjects of a nation are entitled to the benefits of a victorious war, equally so must they be subject to the disastrous consequences which are inevitable. The civil populations are as much feeders of war as food, ammunitions etc. They have to be fodder for the guns as all the products of the country are used for military purposes. Moreover, the actual death calamities could be considered negligible when computed against the lasting benefits to a successful nation. Even *Smriti* writers tolerated the sacrifice of a few in the interest of a larger number. The present death calamities are a microscopic minority which has to be tolerated or excused in the present state of affairs. If destructive power is developed during war time

recuperative powers are also being developed side by side with it.

Just as disease and pain in one part of the body have their own weakening influence on the whole human system, the war is also a national disease, which could at best only be cured by peace pacts, treaties, disarmament conferences and League of Nations Covenants and not avoided altogether. That is why the *Mahabharata*, of which the *Gita* forms only a part, recognised a code of conduct known as *Apath Dharma*, as distinguished from *Moksha Dharma*. The *Visvarupa Adhyaya* of the *Gita* itself may be taken as a picturesque description of the fact that ghastly destruction of the State is unavoidable. For Arjuna himself, to his horror and surprise, sees all the ferocious consequences of the war with his divine eye.

So I would conclude by saying that we have not gone beyond the sense of duty, morality and ethics inculcated in the present *Gita*. We are still far, far away from any hope of reaching the highest ideal propounded in the *Gita*, the universal transformation of all into Sattvic men. One has only to read the newspapers to judge of the state of morality prevalent among modern civilised nations.

So what we want is not a new *Gita* to replace the old one, but only a proper attitude of approaching the old *Gita* itself with a reverent mind. Wider sympathy with our brethren, a true understanding of the view-point of others, a sympathetic heart which is moved by the down-trodden people and an unflinching devotion to God are counselled by the *Gita* and mark the ideal for the realisation of which mankind must strive hard.

M. A. RUCKMINI

Triplicane, Madras.

THE MENACE OF RACIALISM

May I avail myself of the hospitality of your pages to express the apprehension which a trend in current writing arouses? I should like to sound a warning note against the appeal to mob instincts which some writers and agitators—not all of them by any means irresponsible demagogues—are basing on the false and dangerous Nazi distinction between superior and inferior races, though they try to make it palatable to the world by foisting it on the unsuspecting public in an anti-German disguise. It is not sufficient to disagree with the Nazis only as to who should be regarded as inferior races, Jews, Indians and Negroes, or Germans, Japanese, etc. If we accept the racialist principle at all, it will soon spread over the world; soon all the nations will again be classified into born slaves and born rulers, and the colour question will intensify to new acerbity. Then only one step more and we shall simplify our forensic methods after the Nazi model, the race test deciding the guilty party.

Do not say that these are phantasies; they are the logical consequence of the acceptance of racial discrimination, of whatever type it may be. Recently several English as well as American critics have drawn attention to a certain contemporary current of literature appealing to the mob which tries to infilter anti-Semitism as well as contempt for the coloured races in the specious guise of anti-Germanism and

xenophobia. As long as we believe that in this war moral values as well as material ones are at stake—justice, humanity, liberty and the equality of nations and races—as long as we stick to the concept of our great religions, as well as of our moralists and lawgivers, that every person must be judged on his or her individual merits and moral qualities, we must needs disapprove of *every* sweeping discrimination on racial lines falling alike on guilty and innocent, even if pleas for such discrimination be introduced through the back-door in an anti-German disguise.

The more I feel all the unspeakable horrors of this time, the more I believe that only justice, stern and bloody, but *just and impartial,* can save Europe, and that indiscriminate hatred and revenge must bring its final suicide in new butcheries; and the more I believe that only the collaboration of all persons of good-will can rebuild what is worthy to survive of the past glories of Europe, and that the perpetuation of old antagonisms and discriminations will lead to its disappearance altogether between the growing giants of America and Russia.

A plea in extenuation must be admitted for some of the preachers of such subversive doctrines. The bitterness of a shattered life has clouded the outlook of many victims of these bloody times. Hatred has blinded them to the meaning of life and they are not aware of the possible drastic consequences of their words. But without condemning those whose judgment has been warped by suffering, I still feel it a public duty to denounce teachings which not only contribute to falsifying the war aims proclaimed by the British and American Governments, but also, in their indirect consequences, will be detrimental both to the Jewish and the Indian communities.

I fully realize, however, that all such criticism will be of little avail as long as we cannot show to the distracted peoples of our time the deeper meaning of this crisis, the new vistas of life which will arise from the present horrors, new aims which are worth fighting for; and that hatred will be the stop-gap of this aimlessness as long as only lip-service is paid to the religious and moral values on which our civilization, nay, every civilization has grown.

Poona. G. Y. H.

Can the white man and the coloured man ever come together in any sort of co-operation? That is the crux of the future. In the answer to that question is the answer to where and when this war will end. A truce which does not take into account the question and the answer will be only a temporary breathing space for recuperation for yet a greater phase of the war. If Americans deny the question and evade the answer, if they ignore it as a matter of policy and diplomacy, it is simply to behave like the ostrich, because in Asia no one denies it or evades it. In India it is the burning question, whose flames leap higher every hour; in Burma it is a raging fire; in Java, yes, and in the Philippines and in China.

—Pearl S. Buck in *The New York Times Magazine,* 31st May 1942

ENDS AND SAYINGS

"_____ ends of verse
And sayings of philosophers."
HUDIBRAS

A move to observe October 4th as World Day for Animals has been inaugurated by the English Branch of the World League against Vivisection and for Protection of Animals. The objects of this observance are to direct attention to the wrongs inflicted on animals and to direct thought and action to their abolition. Appeals have been issued to observe the day everywhere and the observance will be successful if it can spread the realisation that animals are entitled to justice and to immunity from cruelty no less than ourselves. We refuse to animals the treatment which as fellow-beings they deserve, because we are selfish and they inarticulate. We exploit their helplessness. We inflict upon them nameless cruelties in the name of science. We treat them as insensate things for sport and amusement. The right to slaughter them for human consumption is widely taken for granted.

We claim to have given them legislative protection in India under the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Act of 1890. Its presence on the statute-book is a complacent assurance of our good but hardly operative intentions, serving chiefly to mask our apathy. As was pointed out by Mr. Yasin Yunus in his paper on "Cattle Poisoning in India" read at the Medico-Legal Society Meeting at Patna on 30th July 1942, that Act does not cover even so flagrant an offence as poisoning.

World Day for Animals is dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi, whose love for our furred and feathered younger brothers is well known. But long before Saint Francis, India had heard the message of *Ahimsa*. One greater than St. Francis walked our Indian soil and taught men to be pitiful and kind. Sir Edwin Arnold in *The Light of Asia* shows us Gautama taking the limping lamb upon his neck and later, at King Bimbisâra's court, pleading so movingly for mercy to the weak that "the might of gentleness" conquered the priests themselves, waiting to sacrifice.

As H. P. Blavatsky wrote in 1886,

> When the world feels convinced...that animals are creatures as eternal as we ourselves, vivisection and other permanent tortures, daily inflicted on the poor brutes, will, after calling forth an outburst of maledictions and threats from society generally, force all Governments to put an end to those barbarous and shameful practices.

If war has any good by-product, it is to bring to nations an awareness of past follies and an appreciation of the need for intelligent plans for the future. That is why we hear so much about the New World Order. The Fabian Society, with characteristic outspokenness, seeks to direct discussion on proper lines by placing before Britain issues which the war has clarified and facts which it can no longer ignore. *A Word on the Future to British Socialists,*

No. 256 of the Tract Series issued by a committee of the Fabian Society, warns of the danger of reintroducing in Europe completely independent nations, instead of a federation subject to a central economic control. It is becoming increasingly obvious that the stable ordering of the world after the war must necessarily involve socialism in one form or another. The hour of unearned privilege has struck. No programme of reconstruction can be successful unless it opens to peoples sunk in poverty the road to economic and political parity with those now more favoured. The brochure includes a heartening declaration of faith in the rights of man as man.

> We must completely disintegrate our imperial system in respect to its political and economic domination of the dependent people....An empire based on fully equal rights of citizenship for all its peoples may be justifiable, and indeed greatly preferable to the breaking up of large political units into a multiplicity of small States too weak to stand alone. But the absolute condition of such a commonwealth is that there shall be no racial discrimination among its peoples, and that in planning its economic and social development no less weight shall be given the claims of men whose skins are black or brown or yellow than to those of its white citizens.

The principle is sound. The attitude which the Committee gratifyingly sees as necessary will "exclude any return to imperialist exploitation of native labour, or to the claims to prominence of a narrow class of white settlers and officials."

Science and Culture for August 1942, in its editorial comments on Shri Sudhir Sen's article on "The Economics of Food and Nutrition," quotes some pregnant words from an editorial in *Nature* of March 1942 :—

> There are huge blocks of human life, in India and China for example, where the standard of diet is not of the same order as the minimum proposed by the Technical Commission of the League of Nations or as the standard of diet of Western Europe. Europe, excluding the U. S. S. R., with a population little more than one-third of that of Asia consumes more cereals and six times as much meat.

This is a significant commentary on the poverty of the average Indian and on his capacity to purchase food. What he is able to procure is hardly sufficient to keep him alive. Knowledge of food values might help somewhat, but his scanty budget does not permit him to worry overmuch about the nutritive value of the stuff he can afford to buy for himself and his family. With the incredibly low average income, the deficiency and, frequently, the absence of some of the most important protective foods, like milk and milk-products, is, though shocking, not surprising.

The problem of underfeeding and malnutrition is essentially economic. Though attempts at securing better nutrition through intelligent adjustment of family budgets are welcome, the results must be less gratifying than attempts to ameliorate the economic condition of the masses. Shri Sudhir Sen therefore rightly urges that it is national waste to purchase commodities from abroad which could be produced as cheaply at home. Through a scientific reorganisation of our agriculture it is possible to enhance the yield, to improve the quality and thus to provide money's worth in terms of nutritive value. The drastic curtailment in the import of food-stuffs imposed by war conditions should prove to us a lesson in self-sufficiency and a stimulus to an efficient plan of exploiting our untapped resources so that, with improved

economic conditions, the problem of food and nutrition will gradually solve itself.

But such large-scale planning demands co-ordinated effort and such a lead as a Ministry of Food could give. The Editor of *Science and Culture* expresses surprise that there is no such Ministry for India, in view of the importance of the problem here.

If affluence breeds indulgence it slowly and steadily leads towards bankruptcy, material and spiritual. This is as true of individuals as of nations and empires. The cyclic course of civilisation reflects itself in individual and national fortunes which are but the components of the entirety of human progress. History abounds in instances of the decline and fall of nations and it is an unintelligent approach which explains such decline and fall in terms of cataclysms like wars and invasions. Wars have their causes deeper than mere aggressive mentality and territorial acquisitiveness. It is a significant approach to "the deeper causes of war," therefore, which Dr. H. Goetz makes in his article under that title in the August *New Review* when he says that the following of cruel wars closely upon periods of comparative prosperity and cultural progress is not mere accident.

The scope for economic development within national frontiers must necessarily be limited. Failure to appreciate either the limits of such possible development or the need for harmony and balance between nations leads to a reckless race for new opportunities and to ignoring the rights and the duties involved. Responsible thus for dissatisfaction from without, such quick and easy progress tends also to undermine the moral factors which keep the different social strata in proper balance. It thus becomes responsible for unrest within by making of the leader and the pioneer a master; of the servant, a slave. Economic machinery becomes heavy and class distinctions become inflexible. It is such conditions that make war possible and even inevitable. Dr. Goetz warns, therefore, that "Nothing could...be more disastrous than to fight this war in a spirit of mere revenge." However necessary the punishment "of those ambitious political and military adventurers who have let loose all the furies on mankind" that punishment alone is not sufficient.

It is not punishment that can permanently check crime, but the removal of the conditions which breed crime. The builders of the future peace of the world must remove the conditions which precipitate war. This reform, Dr. Goetz thinks,

> can be achieved only by a return from temporal to eternal values. Not the glorification of the state or of the nation which are only temporary ideals,...not the worship of material civilization which is only man's instrument, not the blind belief in a miraculous cure by some...economic or political system...But a revival of religious sense which will give a new meaning to our life, of humanity and good-will which will smooth our interrelations, of justice which will give everybody his due share....

It is a sympathetic study of different peoples' philosophies that can knit together humanity into a harmonious unity. Such a study gives to the open-minded student the most intimate and the most characteristic thought of the people in crystallised form. In these days, when the future is being planned

on the basis of international understanding and on the basic fact of common humanity, it is a welcome sign that the Western world is evincing an increasing interest in Oriental philosophies, as can be seen from the Spring 1942 number of *Philosophic Abstracts*. Dagobert D. Runes himself, the Editor of that bibliographic journal as well as of *The Dictionary of Philosophy* which is reviewed in that issue, mentions in the preface to his *Dictionary* that "In any such conspectus, it is increasingly recognized that the Oriental philosophies must be accorded ample space beside those of the western world." The discussion of Chinese, Hindu, Persian and Jewish philosophies in *A Popular History of Philosophy* by Mr. Maurice M. Kaunitz is another indication of a growing trend.

India's contribution to philosophy has not been small. Tolerance and sympathy towards fellow beings, a recognition that the goal of all philosophies is basically the same, these were stressed as much by the ancient scriptures as by the great saint of modern India, Swami Ramakrishna, in honour of whose centenary was published *The Cultural Heritage of India*, reviewed in *Philosophic Abstracts* by R. B. Winn. Appropriately, therefore, that work opens with what the reviewer calls "Rabindranath Tagore's inspired words dedicated to the Spirit of India":

> I love India, not because I cultivate the idolatry of geography...but because she has saved through tumultuous ages the living words that have issued from the illuminated consciousness of her great sons.

Scientific research today is regimented by the United Nations, as well as by the Axis, towards a single purpose —the effective prosecution of the war. The orientation of scientific research in every warring country is therefore determined by the national demand which has pressed it into service. The question is raised editorially in *Endeavour* for April whether such co-ordination, useful and necessary in time of war, would also be useful and desirable in times of peace, when only complete State control could achieve it.

None can deny the value of co-ordination in any branch of inquiry. The failure to pool results, no less than the absence of a clearing-house of information on current projects, spells endless duplication and deplorable waste in time and energy. Without, moreover, a broader outlook, a more synthetic vision, a more purposeful direction, research in the various branches of knowledge is likely to remain unrelated and thus unhelpful to the progress of humanity towards a better understanding of life and of nature, towards the appreciation that all life is one. Co-ordination is necessary and the *help* of the State in achieving it may be most valuable.

But the question of State control stands on a different footing. Official regimentation of workers can yield only a dreary mediocrity. *Endeavour* warns against "any attempt to convert science from a willing collaborator into a regimented slave."

There are three main motives for scientific research—intellectual curiosity, altruism and the profit motive. In pure science the first frequently preponderates, in applied science it is often ancillary to the third. Altruism is a characteristic of the high-souled scientist in either field. Many scientists

in both fields rightly value knowledge in terms of its applicability to the amelioration of human conditions and the disinterested research of the pure scientist may, in the long run, be no less fruitful in benefits—and even in profit—than the quick results sought by the votary of applied science.

Many a concept that has revolutionised science—from the half-law which dawned on Newton when his famous apple fell, and which he christened "gravity," to the quantum theory of light radiation, conceived by Planck as he was walking to a scientific meeting—has come to its discoverer as a flash of intuition. The scientific mind must be allowed a measure of detachment, leisure for brooding and sufficient freedom from immediate demands to keep the casement open to the winds of thought. As the Editor of *Endeavour* remarks,

> Imagine NEWTON, with no leisure for physics or mathematics, compelled to spend his days devising new methods for assaying bullion, FARADAY commanded by GLADSTONE to discover "something useful," or EINSTEIN instructed by a government department to check the tables of seven-figure logarithms !

The Editorial call deserves to be widely heard :—

> Let us indeed have more co-operation, more pooling of information, more purposeful and economical direction of research, but let us resolutely withstand the deadening fetters of bureaucracy.

Misconception as to the nature and purpose of history is largely responsible for the neglect of its study. Regarded as a record of dates and names, its importance is hardly appreciated. It would be easy to agree with this facile view and neglect history if only the past ever died. But, as Büchner wrote, "The whole past of the Earth is nothing but an unfolded present." And the converse is equally true. Shri K. Visvanathan, writing on "Indian History: Its Study and Teaching" in *The Educational Review* for July 1942, points out that "the spirit of enquiry in history ought to be not the what, but the how and why of things." It is a common complaint that our ancestors wrote no history. But this is a misconception. Shri Visvanathan demands :—

> Do not the *Vedas*, the *Puranas*, the *Upanishads*, the *Smritis*, the *Ramayana*, and the *Mahabharata*, the *Rajatarangini*, the many *sthala* and *kshetra mahatmyas*, the *Jatakas* and the *Pithakas*, and many other Sanskrit and Pali works tell us something about the life of our ancestors ? Are they not, as such, history books ?

In respect of mediæval and modern India, partisan writing misleads more than it helps. "A knowledge of history [real history] is broadening and humanising," killing narrowness and placing man in his proper relation to other men. Among the lessons which the present and the future can learn from the past is why nations and institutions have arisen, grown, declined. Among the other lessons of history which Shri Visvanathan cites are the fundamental unity of India and the indubitable fact that democracy was known in ancient India and went to the West with civilisation.

Though the Indian mind recognises the relativity of human standards, it also, as Shri S. Natarajan points out, recognises the divine at the heart of the universe, striving towards which is the main force behind human progress, and which, bringing to man an awareness of his dignity as a human being, inspires him to self-elevation. This is true of politicians as of

others. The question, therefore, whether absolute ethical standards have any place in politics—raised by Dorothy Fosdick in the June *Political Science Quarterly* and discussed editorially by *The Indian Social Reformer* of 29th August—is pertinent. Dorothy Fosdick thinks that there are two types of men—those who presuppose and those who altogether deny the existence of an absolute ethical standard in politics. To the former class she assigns Gandhiji, George Lansbury and William Jennings Bryan and to the latter the dictators of Europe. The latter group is again divided into the Machiavellians who exalt power over considerations of right and wrong, and the Neo-Machiavellians who substitute social justice or political order for the principle of power.

If evidence were needed to prove the necessity of ethical standards in politics, the present world chaos is there before our eyes—the result of the woeful neglect of such standards. The politics of misused power may claim more spectacular results; but are they lasting? If there is to be reaction—and there is bound to be—what is there to commend such politics?

Political order and social justice are good slogans only unless their promoters accept moral considerations in securing them, for the simple reason that order and justice cannot evolve out of what is not moral. A stage in human progress has been reached when thinking about the security and welfar of isolated political units has bee proved to be inadequate. "Patriotism, as Edith Cavell said, "is not enough. Politicians who promise progress t their country at the expense of othe nations betray a sad lack of the broa outlook, the synthetic view. These ar possible only if moral consideration prevail. The temporary success o expediency as a political policy probabl makes Dorothy Fosdick attempt reconciliation, under a theory of relativ ethics which cannot take us far Neither expediency, however specious nor failures, however discouraging, mus shake man's innate faith in the universa applicability of moral principles i the conduct of affairs. The world o politics is an extremely practical worl but its ministers overlook at their peri and ours the need for the long view and the moral motive.

It is perhaps inevitable that inter national ethics should show some la behind the highest individual mora code. Nations are made up of all th individuals who compose them and th average man is perhaps as far from th positive implications of loving hi neighbour as himself as his governmen is from active concern for other nations welfare. But the average man is not a cut-throat or a pickpocket. He accept at least in theory the obligation not t exploit his neighbour. It would be a step forward if his government caugh up with him in that.